

socialist voice

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for union democracy

Edmonton socialist
election campaign

Unionists, jobless march in Halifax

Demand jobs for all

By Howard Brown

More than 1,000 workers marched through the streets of Halifax September 28 to demand government action on the unemployment crisis. Held in conjunction with the Nova Scotia Federation of Labor convention, the demonstration was organized by a coalition of trade-union, women's, and student groups.

"We are demanding the creation of meaningful employment, the removal of wage controls, [repeal of] the new UIC legislation, and an end to cutbacks in essential social services," Georgina Chambers, a spokeswoman for the coalition, said.

More than 10 percent of Nova Scotia's workforce is currently unemployed, even according to Statistics Canada's doctored figures. Across the country, NDP researchers estimate, more than 1.3 million workers are without jobs. Already *one worker in nine is unemployed*—and the ranks of the jobless continue to swell.

Neither in Ottawa nor the provinces have governments taken more than token initiatives to create employment. On the contrary, through spending "restraint" and hiring freezes they have deliberately cut back on jobs. Rather than fighting unemployment, the Trudeau government is waging war on the unemployed with its restriction of unemployment insurance benefits.

Meanwhile, big businessmen sit on their investment funds and allow their plants and equipment to lie idle; today nearly 20 percent of Canada's industrial capacity is unutilized. The employers have gone on strike against working people.

Unemployment, the bosses know, can sap labor of its militancy, pits worker against worker in competition for jobs, slows down the pace of wage increases by eroding the unions' bargaining power—and thereby bolsters the outlook for corporate profits. However long the unemployment lines, until the employers are guaranteed increased profits they will continue refusing to hire.

So how can labor fight back? The Halifax demon-



Nova Scotia unions take the lead in organizing actions to fight unemployment. Above: Nova Scotia Federation of Labor President Gerald Yetman addresses the more

than 1,000 workers who marched to demand jobs in Halifax, September 28.

stration points the way forward for the unions in battling for jobs for all.

CLC jobs program

In finally breaking off its talks with the Trudeau government on tripartism and the economy August 17, the Canadian Labor Congress promised a "campaign . . . directed at achieving full employment."

To "increase demand" and stimulate "job-creating investments," the congress proposed a one-month

moratorium on income tax collection for people earning less than \$15,000 a year, a permanent 5 percent tax reduction for the same people, a \$50 per month increase in old-age pensions, and a "\$1-billion public investment programme" for housing construction and other socially useful projects. A similar program is advanced by the NDP, which proposes it be financed in part through withdrawal of the \$1.2 billion in corporate tax giveaways con-

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in brief

Left students contest York U. elections

TORONTO—Recent student aid cutbacks and tuition hikes, along with student unemployment and women's rights on campus, will be the central issues in the United Left Slate (ULS) election campaign at York University this fall. The York Young Socialists have announced they will field three candidates in a Council of the York Student Federation (CYSF) by-election October 6. The YS candidates Linda Blanchet, Rob McMaster, and Joanne Pritchard will be running in the ULS together with Ian Kellogg.

In a leaflet distributed on the campus, the ULS explained that "Faced with tuition hikes, severe cuts in student aid, and large-scale unemployment, we need a student council that is prepared to defend our rights."

"Letter-writing campaigns and meetings between student representatives and government officials will not by themselves turn back the current attacks on our right to an education. . . .

"The only way to reverse this conscious government offensive . . . is through mass actions which can force the government to back down. . . . The ULS will fight on CYSF for the perspective of highly visible campaigns which mobilize all students on York . . . It will also argue for such a perspective in the Ontario Federation of Students and the National Union of Students. . . ."

The ULS platform also includes opposition to the new repressive immigration act, support for Quebec self-determination, and opposition to campus discrimination against lesbians and gays.

Canada's private militias

The shooting of eight strikers by security guards at Robin Hood flour mills in Montreal in July put the spotlight on the extensive use of private security firms, and the threat these private bosses' militias pose to democratic rights.

There are about 75,000 such private guards in Canada—more than the combined personnel of the

Canadian Armed Forces, according to the Toronto Star.

Many of these "security" and "investigation" firms—there are a total of 78 registered in Quebec, 198 in Ontario—have direct connections with the police. Some have connections with the underworld, as well.

A case in point is Securex, a large Quebec security firm. Securex is owned by Mitchell Bronfman, a member of the notorious Bronfman family that threatened to pull their investments out of Quebec when the PQ was elected.

Bronfman was a close friend of Willie Obront, recently implicated in Quebec's tainted-meat scandal. But what is most interesting is his connection with the cops, including the RCMP.

Securex boasts openly of these links.

In a letter to a prospective client dated June 6, 1975 and obtained by the Montreal daily *Le Devoir* (which published it last July 28), a Securex vice-president offered information "relative to political and/or trade-union movements in Quebec."

This information results, the letter says, "from our close liaison with various police forces and confidential sources. . . ."

"This company is formed of four former members of the RCMP, with a total of 70 years experience in security and police work."

Securex, the letter says, offers studies of the "political and revolutionary climate," including "Identification and evaluation of local extremist groups."

Recent news reports have disclosed that the RCMP briefs "industrialists" about the activities of unions and political groups. The example of Securex, and undoubtedly of many other such firms, shows that these links may be more widespread than many people think.

Francophones attack Trudeau maneuver

If the federal government were sincere about wanting to do something about French language rights, it would stop playing constitutional games and instead support francophones' efforts to obtain French schools, the Federation

of Francophones Outside Quebec said in a statement issued September 14.

The federation strongly criticized Trudeau's proposal to the provinces to write protection of French rights into the constitution.

"If the federal government really wants to assure our right to education in our own language, why doesn't it intervene more effectively by upholding action taken by our communities, which for a long time have been pressuring those with primary responsibility, the provincial governments?"

"We insist that they begin at the real beginning, that is, an investment in the life of our disintegrating communities."

The federation said it wants "a comprehensive, precise, coherent, and definitive policy of developing communities with a French language and culture."

Toronto action set to defend Damien

TORONTO—As part of the National Days of Protest sponsored by the National Gay Rights Coalition, October 21 will be a day of action here in defense of John Damien, the Ontario racing steward who was fired from his job for being a homosexual.

In the afternoon gay rights activists will leaflet outside the Yonge and Wellesley offices of the Ministry of Consumer and Corporate Relations, which is responsible for the Ontario Racing Commission. A petition will be circulated demanding inclusion of freedom of sexual orientation in human rights legislation. Damien supporters will rally at the same site at 7:30 for a march to the Church Street Community Center at 519 Church St.,

Feature speaker at the rally will be Barbara Thornborrow who was discharged from the armed forces last June for being a lesbian. Other speakers have been invited from the trade-union movement, the NDP, and the lesbian and gay movements.

—Gary Kinsman

labor notes

Defend Latin American Trade Unionists: Pepin

The Quebec and English-Canadian mass media are guilty of a conspiracy of silence concerning torture and attacks on the fundamental human rights of workers in Latin America, Marcel Pepin, president of the World Confederation of Labor, has charged.

Pepin made his remarks in Montreal on returning from an eight-day trip to Argentina, Uruguay, and Chile with a delegation of the confederation.

"The real trade union leaders in these countries have disappeared, or are imprisoned and tortured," said the former president of the Confederation of National Trade Unions.

"In Argentina, at the La Plata prison, prisoners told us how they were submerged in water until almost completely

suffocated, while electric shocks were sent through the water."

"Union organizations have been dismantled. Where they still exist, the government appoints the leaders, as with the (Argentine) CGT. . . . There are no union elections. The members carry on their work by organizing family suppers as a cover for meetings. Our presence alone was warmly greeted by them."

Pepin said the Latin American unionists' demands, which he will be transmitting to the International Labor Organization, include the freeing of all political prisoners and unionists now being held in these countries; an end to military trusteeship over the unions; freedom of organization; and restoration of collective bargaining rights.

The labor movement in this country has a major responsibility to publicize conditions in Latin America, Pepin said. "Thousands of workers are being slaughtered, and nothing is said about it" in the mass media.

100 killed each year in Canada's mines

More than 1,000 miners have been killed in Canadian mines in the past 10 years, a study made public last month by the United Steelworkers of America shows.

According to the study, "mining is the most dangerous job in the country." About 130,000 workers were employed in mines and at other work places at mine sites in 1975. They represented only 1.4 percent of the country's work force, but 14 percent of on-the-job deaths occurred among them. In Ontario, where mine owners boast the best safety record in the country, one in every seven miners was hurt on the job last year.

According to Keith Rothney, chairman of the safety, health and environment committee of Steelworkers Local 6500 in Sudbury, prime factors contributing to the high death rate in the mines are: lack of adequate training for underground miners, insufficient underground lighting, foremen "who push the workers like machines to get the production up," and the incentive system, which causes some miners to cut corners to make bonus pay.

A main task before the Steelworkers will be eliminating these threats to miners' lives, insisting on the right to strike on all safety conditions during the life of union contracts.

AIB struck down in Manitoba

In a five-to-four decision September 30, the Supreme Court of Canada ruled that Manitoba's NDP government did not have legal authority to apply federal wage controls to the province's public workers. Jurisdiction for Manitoba government employees was turned over to the federal Anti-Inflation Board in February, 1976, by Order-in-Council of the Schreyer government.

Schreyer says he will have constitutional lawyers "pore

over" the judgment to "see in every detail what the best followup course of action will be." After a similar ruling against the Ontario government last fall, legislation was introduced at Queen's Park to give the controls legal force over the province's public workers.

Labor should be mobilizing to see that the Manitoba government doesn't follow suit—or find some other pretext for enforcing the controls on provincial government workers.

Labor solidarity wins Burlington strike

HAMILTON—A seven-week strike against CUMIS Insurance in Burlington ended September 23 with the ratification of a two-year contract by Local 290 of the Office and Professional Employees Union (OPEIU). The workers, most of them women, won a 21 percent wage increase in the face of vicious strikebreaking tactics by CUMIS, including the busing in of scabs and police arrests of picketers. Before the strike some of the workers were receiving a mere \$125 a week.

CUMIS president Herve Langtot, a former Liberal Party candidate, was determined to hold wage increases within "anti-inflation" guidelines, even though the Credit Union-owned insurance company does not fall within the jurisdiction of the AIB.

Key to winning the strike was the determination of the CUMIS workers and the support they received from the Hamilton and District Labor Council. Steelworkers Local 1005 (Stelco) contributed money to the strike, and Steel union activists beefed up the picket line.

—Jim Bell

Saskatoon CUPW leaders suspended

SASKATOON—Eight executive members of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW) local here were issued three-to-seven day suspensions September 28 for their efforts to enforce the union's contract.

The disciplinary action stemmed from a mid-September walkout by the inside postal workers to protest the elimination of day shift positions due to technological change, harassment and intimidation of employees on the shop floor, and the arbitrary scheduling of part-time workers. The local has built up more than 300 outstanding grievances.

The CUPW convention in Halifax this summer made the rescinding of disciplinary action against postal workers in Montreal, Sherbrooke, and Ottawa a condition for the signing of a new contract. The same condition should be laid before Post Office management concerning the Saskatoon workers.

—Larry Hay

socialist voice

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Mass solidarity averts defeat

Lessons of Robin Hood flour-mill workers strike

By Michel Lafitte

MONTREAL—The seven-month-long strike at the Robin Hood flour mill here ended September 19, as workers voted 58 to 37 to return to work.

They were the last remaining strikers. Workers at the Maple Leaf mill had returned to work a week earlier; workers at Ogilvie and Phenix in late July.

The Robin Hood strikers felt that their backs were to the wall, they felt they had no choice.

Their union meeting was listless, and few applauded the vote to return to work. They took no pleasure at this decision.

Workers at Quebec's four major flour mills went on strike February 2 to protest wage cuts imposed by the so-called Anti-Inflation Board. The AIB slashed wage increases obtained in negotiations with the companies by an average of 45 cents an hour.

The strike quickly shaped up as a political confrontation between the Quebec union movement and the federal government.

For a few weeks panic buying created an artificial shortage of wheat and bread. But the food stores and the bakeries were soon able to find secure sources of flour, importing it from Ontario and even from the United States.

At the outset, the strike was supported with no little fanfare by the leadership of the CSN (Confederation of National Trade Unions). But they soon

abandoned it, doing almost nothing between March and July to organize solidarity.

It was the rank and file activists of the union movement, particularly those to the left of the Parti Quebecois (PQ), who stuck by the strikers.

Their active solidarity ensured that the strikers were not forgotten and totally smashed.

Initially aimed against Ottawa's wage controls, the strike quickly took on another dimension. Armed with permits to import U.S. flour, and staffed by management personnel, the companies started up production again.

Faithful to the traditions of its owner, the international monopoly ITT, Robin Hood fired all its workers at the beginning of July, on the pretext that they had violated a return-to-work injunction, and resumed production using scabs protected by armed "security" police.

And the Montreal police anti-riot squad, renamed the "tactical squad," was of course there to play its strike-breaking role.

During July the strikers thus found themselves confronted with a powerful arsenal of weapons assembled by the bosses: the wage-controls law; imported stocks of flour, production once again under way; court injunctions; the PQ's refusal to act despite its statements of good intentions; the scabs, the mass firings; the official police and the companies' private police.

Then on July 22, acting with the complicity of the Montreal police, Robin Hood's hired killers opened fire on the picket line.

The results: Eight workers were seriously wounded.

Gauging the relationship of forces on the local level at that time, you could only conclude that the strikers were beaten. But that was not true.

And the great lesson of this strike is that the real relationship of forces can be determined only on the level of social and political forces.

The relationship of forces began to change. There were daily mobilizations on the picket lines; 4,000 persons demonstrated in Montreal on July 29, 500 in Quebec City August 31.

A boycott of Robin Hood products began. A massive demonstration was threatened for September 28. And even the Parti Quebecois was not wholly indifferent to the growing hostility among workers.

Thus the workers achieved a settlement. What was it worth? It is still too early to give a definitive answer. But compared to their initial goal, restoration of the 45 cents an hour wage increase, it cannot be seen as an overwhelming victory.

The 45 cents will be added to the pension fund, a measure already rejected by the flour-mill workers before the strike began.

The return-to-work agreement



protects all strikers against legal reprisals and provides for the rehiring of all workers. But at Robin Hood, where the company has already announced it will dismiss 50 employees, there is no job security. Everyone will be called back to work in three weeks—but no one knows for how long.

Could more have been won? Certainly, if the leadership of the CSN and the other labor federations had mobilized the

labor movement as a whole from the outset utilizing the millworkers strike to defeat the wage controls.

Only a general mobilization can turn back the bosses' offensive.

And if this lesson is learned, then the heroic millworkers strike will have greatly advanced the struggle of the entire Quebec working class.

—translated from
Lutte Ouvrière

Meeting launches RWL in Toronto

By Ed Miller

TORONTO—Independent militants greeted the newly-formed Revolutionary Workers League/Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire as a stride forward for the revolutionary movement at the RWL's first Toronto public meeting September 30.

They also issued the organization friendly challenges to broaden its program and practice, especially in areas related to immigrant workers and Black militants.

Entitled "Canada in Crisis: the Socialist Solution," the meeting of 175 heard speeches by Art Young, a long-time leader of the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, and Judy Rebick, a leader of the Revolutionary Marxist Group



Judy Rebick

since its beginnings in 1973. Both are now members of the RWL Political Committee.

Young analyzed Canadian capitalism's growing problems: planned unemployment of over a million, wage controls and social service cutbacks, attacks on women's and gay rights, on Quebec and native people, on immigrants and ethnic minorities.

While fighting back—most significantly through labor's general strike last October 14 and through the growing Quebecois independence movement—workers have "found the leadership of the traditional workers organizations wanting," said Young.

Rebick argued for the need to build a revolutionary party to fight on all fronts of the class struggle.

Struggles by workers, women, gays, national minorities, and im-

migrants for "partial solutions" in single-issue campaigns "are not enough," she said.

All who agree on the fundamentals of revolutionary socialism, whatever their secondary differences, should be in one organization," said Rebick.

At the same time, she said, "The importance of democratic debate, both inside the revolutionary organization and with other workers parties and organizations, must be understood. This provides the best chance for correct revolutionary understanding and gives an idea of the kind of socialism we want."

Bringing greetings from the Young Socialists (YS), Joanne Pritchard reported the adoption of a resolution at the August YS convention "which expressed our adherence to the objectives and program of the RWL."

Joe Meslin, an early member of the Canadian Trotskyist movement and now vice-president of the Hatters Union, greeted the meeting with "a little nostalgia."

"I'm not only listening to young revolutionaries here tonight. The spirit of the early founders of the Fourth International is here, and I think the 'Old Man' [Trotsky] would have been very happy and proud of the utterings I've heard here."

Some who brought greetings took the opportunity to offer advice to the new organization.

A member of the Gay Alliance Toward Equality, Hugh English, gave greetings as an individual.

English noted that the RWL has slated an internal discussion on gay liberation in coming months. In his view, "any position which falls short of the basic understanding and declaration that 'gay is just as good as straight' can be seen as only another copout from the left."

A Guyanese militant applauded the formation of the RWL as a step away from the sectarian "pecking among the left" which he had known during his seven years in Canada.

He urged the RWL to get more involved with work among immigrant workers. "In this city it is immigrants who clean capitalists' buildings, who run their factories. The left has done very poor work with them."

After congratulating the RWL on its formation, a Black militant called upon the organization to make contact with radicalizing Blacks and step up the fight against racism.



Joe Meslin MacInnis/Socialist Voice

In general, the mood of the meeting was one of militant celebration, and it was captured best by Rob Albritton, formerly a leader of the International Socialists and a new member of the RWL:

"The revolutionary left has been a long time getting its shit together. The RWL has broken the tradition of backbiting within the left. I believe this organization is going somewhere; that's why this past week I've joined it, and that's why I'm going to do my damndest to build it."

Vancouver rally

VANCOUVER—About 100 persons turned out here October 1 for a rally launching the Revolutionary Workers League in Vancouver. Feature speakers were Judy Rebick and Art Young, both members of the RWL's Political Committee.

The rally heard greetings from Edith MacKay of the Vancouver Young Socialists; Ruth Bullock, a founding member of the RWL and an activist in the Trotskyist movement since 1945; Margaret Trowe, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of Seattle; and a representative of the Chilean Socialist Party, who hailed the formation of the RWL as "an important step forward toward the unity of the revolutionary left."



Art Young MacInnis/Socialist Voice

Youth need jobs, not conscription

By Gary Watson
and Gary Kettner

"UNCLE BARNEY WANTS YOU!" screamed the Toronto Sun in a front-page headline.

In a speech in Toronto September 24, federal Minister of Defense Barney Danson said the deteriorating unemployment situation among young people is making the idea of mandatory military service more popular in Canada. "I have no problems with that," he said.

Last spring, Prime Minister Trudeau told a meeting of Toronto students to "find another country where they could use university graduates."

In March, Danson set up an experimental youth corps called Katimavik. The program, which became known as "Barney's Brown Shirts," was designed to pay unemployed youth a dollar a day to work on projects similar to Depression-era relief camps. The scheme was expected to at-

Canadians, he says, have only to look at what is already happening in Europe, where governments openly fear another wave of student militancy like that which shook France in 1968.

Baetz points out that unemployed youth were at the forefront of the "organized disenchantment" that led to the Parti Quebecois victory last November.

Youth unemployment at Depression levels

The concern that these big-business spokesmen express—for the system, not the unemployed—is certainly well-founded. According to the latest Statistics Canada figures, unemployment is now at levels reminiscent of the 1930s.

The situation for young people is particularly grim. The unemployment rate for those between 15 and 24 years of age stands at 15 percent—almost double the rate for the population as a whole. Although this age group includes only 30 percent of the workforce, it comprises 48 percent of the unemployed.

These figures only tell part of the story. The official statistics are notorious for their inaccuracy, excluding hundreds of thousands who have given up looking for work.

In addition to the unemployed, many young people are *underemployed*—unable to find jobs that utilize their education and skills. A study at the University of Waterloo last year found, for example, that fewer than one-half of all graduates had found full-time work in their field of studies.

Youth unemployment is a worldwide plague. A total of 16 million workers will be unemployed this year in the 24 leading capitalist countries that belong to the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Forty percent of these will be under 25 years of age.

Capitalism's fault, not ours

Who's responsible for this massive unemployment?

Many observers would have us believe that the unemployed are themselves to blame. "People grow faster than jobs," we are told. The young are accused of having "bad work habits" with "expectations that are far too high."

Graduates are blamed for en-

tering the labor force with "un-marketable" skills. And according to Wayne Gartley, president of the University and College Placement Association, "... the answer, obviously, is that students don't know how to begin to look for jobs!"

The facts say otherwise. As even the big-business media admit, there simply aren't enough jobs to go around.

By the end of 1977 in Ontario alone, more than 197,000 students are expected to complete full-time studies. Last year the Ontario economy produced only 76,000 new jobs.

The capitalist system is incapable of providing enough jobs. More and more, big-business politicians and economists admit this, calling unemployment, and youth unemployment in particular, a "structural problem," that is, a permanent part of the capitalist economic structure.

In fact, a certain level of unemployment is desirable for the capitalists. High unemployment creates more competition for jobs—driving down wage rates and eroding job security. This

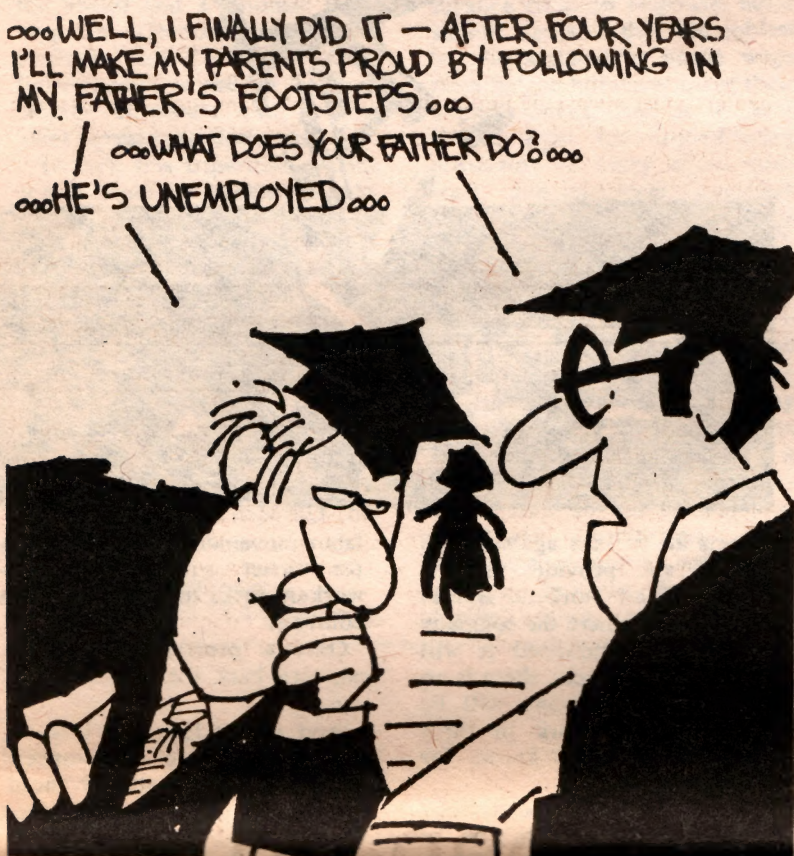
means higher profits.

Thus when Ontario treasurer Darcy McKeough was faced with rising unemployment rates, he found a very simple solution. He redefined "full employment" to mean a 5.3 percent unemployment rate.

McKeough justified this move by pointing to the growth of the "secondary" labor force—women and youth. He argued that unemployment among these sectors of the population was of secondary importance.

But the hundreds of thousands of unemployed young people in Canada need more than a phony juggling of definitions to solve their problem. They need jobs!

Both student and labor organizations across the country have set the fight for jobs as a central priority. The National Union of Students will discuss their student unemployment campaign at their semi-annual conference in Calgary October 21-23. A mass campaign of public action, in collaboration with the labor movement, would be the most effective way to develop the fight against unemployment.



Hereth, LNS

Later, after a flurry of opposition over the speech, Danson backed down, saying he had been misinterpreted and that he was not in favor of a peacetime draft.

But, he continued, "Nothing would bother me about some form of compulsory national service—not necessarily of a military nature." Danson suggested that young people could be required to apply to the military before being eligible for unemployment insurance benefits.

Danson's call for "compulsory national service" as a solution to youth unemployment is the latest in a series of trial balloons floated by government and big-business spokesmen over the past few months.

tract up to 15,000 young people, but so far only 400 have joined.

All these cynical proposals reveal the ruling class's inability to deal with the youth unemployment crisis.

Big business is concerned about the social and political implications of the massive unemployment levels. A recent Statistics Canada report warned that youth could become "radicalized" as the gap between their expectations and job opportunities widens.

Reuben Baetz, an Ontario Conservative MPP, told the Toronto Star "An inordinately high rate of unemployment among youth is always the volatile stuff of political extremism..."

Ontario Student Aid cut

TORONTO—Graduate and professional students will no longer be eligible for provincial grants under a new student aid program announced September 21 by the Ontario government. This is one of a series of changes that Colleges and Universities Minister Harry Parrott hopes will "encourage students to complete their studies quickly."

The Ontario Federation of Students (OFS) has estimated that 7,200 needy students will be cut off grants next year.

Graduate and professional students reacted angrily to the announcement. Bill Stratton, president of the Graduate

Students Union at the University of Toronto, said "The ministry seems to be saying that low-income people can get a BA, but they're not welcome to try for a higher degree."

The U of T student paper *The Varsity* quoted graduate student Barb Stewart as asking "What ever happened to equal accessibility to education?" Stewart, a member of the Revolutionary Workers League, is an activist on the campus.

"The government can't be unaware of the effect," commented Stewart. "I'm astounded, although I shouldn't be. This just flows from recent policies, trying

to divide the students. They tried to set foreign students against the others and now it's grads versus undergrads. It's very harsh."

"We need a really big protest," said Stewart, "across the entire province. We must be unified. This hits every student. We need a big, loud demonstration." (*The Varsity*)

Parrott's proposal contained a number of other changes in the student aid scheme. But, as the OFS has charged, Parrott has been "extraordinarily vague" about the details and the real effect of the measures is difficult to assess so far.

UBC YS: 'Fight the cutbacks'

By Mike Treslender
and Bonnie Geddes

VANCOUVER—"We must unite to combat tuition fee increases, education cutbacks, and student unemployment," Edith MacKay, Young Socialist candidate for student Senator-at-large, told a recent University of British Columbia (UBC) all-candidates meeting.

MacKay, a first year Arts student, was a staff organizer for last year's March 1 anticutbacks rally, in which 3,000 students participated. She received 80 votes (15 percent) in the September 28 by-election.

MacKay's campaign centered on the need for mass student action against the B.C. government's anti-education policies.

Students at UBC have been hit this year with tuition fee increases of 25 to 40 percent and the worst student summer unemployment ever. Hardest hit have been women and immigrants who, as usual, have not been able to get anything but the poorest paid jobs, and foreign students who are faced with the possibility of differential fees. At the same time, all students are en-

countering more difficulties in receiving student loans.

Education cutbacks have meant extremely crowded classrooms, many with standing room only, tutorials and discussion groups slashed due to lack of teaching assistants, elimination of courses and course sections, and a reduction in library hours.

At an all-candidates meeting, MacKay stressed that "education is a right, not a privilege." The student paper *Ubysey* reported. MacKay urged all students to participate in the picketing of the Board of Governors' meeting on October 4. MacKay encouraged students to become involved in the Anticutbacks Committee established by the Student Representative Assembly.

Throughout the week-long campaign, MacKay and other Young Socialists went into the lecture halls and spoke about the need to organize against cutbacks. MacKay stressed the need for "students to unite with faculty and staff, who are also victims of the government's attacks on education. If we are to succeed in defeating the government's anti-education policies, we can rely on no one but ourselves."



British Columbia students demonstrated against cutbacks and tuition hikes last spring.



Women will no longer be victims of sexual violence

The following article appeared in the September 1 issue of Socialist Challenge, a revolutionary socialist weekly published in Britain. The article has been abridged for reasons of space.

We print it as a contribution to the growing discussion and activity against sexist violence taking place in the feminist movement. In the next issue we will report on the anti-rape protests planned for November 5 in a number of cities across the country.

* * *

By Dodie Weppeler and Ann Bond

Women are no longer prepared to silently submit to vicious and humiliating attacks at the hands of men—that's the message that comes across loud and clear from the growing campaign against the battering of women and against rape.

At a time of acute social crisis when all forms of violence are on the increase, it has been the growth of the women's movement and the spreading of its ideas well beyond the ranks of the movement itself which have given growing numbers of women the confidence to speak out and begin to organize against rape.

It is not only the act of rape that women are fighting against. Women are fighting every aspect of this sexist society which oppresses them—including their treatment as little more than passive playthings who, with the help of a myriad of products from our consumer society, can be transformed into the page three pin-up which every "real man" desires. Rape is one expression of the dehumanization and distortion of social relations perpetuated by class society and rooted in the social conditioning of the family.

Anger and determination

Despite women's anger and determination, the political basis for an ongoing anti-rape campaign has presented a particularly thorny problem, especially for socialists in the women's movement. No woman would deny that an immediate reaction, especially to a brutal rape, would be something along the lines of "castrate the man."

But the starting point for any political action against rape is not to sharpen a kitchen knife. That starting point must be in the interests of women, in the context of an understanding of the centrality of the struggle for their liberation.

Any man—working class, Black, ruling class, or whoever—who resorts to this most humiliating form of physical assault against women takes this action against every woman's right to act, think, and feel independently. If the rapist is working class, his action acts against the interests of the working class as a whole.

Class lines

Today the workers' movement—let alone those who consider themselves socialist—lacks a consciousness on issues of sexual violence. Consequently, the working class is politically disarmed and incapable of imposing its own sanctions and morality against those in its ranks who resort to violence against

women—whether it be woman battering, persistent harassment of women in pubs, or acts of rape in its narrow, legal definition.

Organized political opposition to such acts carried out by the workers' movement itself would provide conditions to deter rapists. The level of consciousness necessary for such uni-

to openly campaign against rape. The cross-examination which puts women on trial must be eliminated.

Once women rely on the courts to stop rape, they hand over all their organization.

Equally, if socialists choose to uphold this "justice" they get entangled in impossible contradic-



Feminists in England have begun to organize anti-rape campaign

fied opposition will not arise spontaneously. A strong mass campaign launched by the women's movement is a precondition.

Political demands

The woman who has been raped has few options open to her. If she can overcome the dominant sexist notion that rape is a crime the victim should hide, she will be likely to report the rape to the police. But every step of the procedure necessary before the case actually comes to court is directed against the woman.

The legal definition of rape, with its insidious notion of consent, is so narrow that many victims of sexual assault have no recourse to the rape law. If she has, the legally prescribed medical examination—often brutal and inevitably humiliating—is carried out by a police doctor, not by a qualified person of her choice. In court the woman is subjected to intense cross-examination of her behavior. She becomes the guilty person put on trial.

What should the attitude of socialists be to the state and its courts? The courts exist to uphold class society and the bourgeois morality it spawns, perpetuating women's oppression. They have the power to mete out harsher sentences for offenses about which there is a public outcry [and in doing so] retain their monopoly of "justice."

Sentences are not decided in the interests of the rape victim. Judges are rather more concerned with giving a sop to "public opinion."

Neither does severe punishment eradicate rape by "curing" the rapist. After being locked up for several years a rapist could conceivably emerge with even more violent tendencies.

Nevertheless, as long as there is no alternative women will continue to turn to the courts. And while they do socialists must fight for measures which afford women more protection at the hands of the judges and lawyers.

Women should have the right to be examined by a person of their own choice. Their identity should be totally protected from the gutter press, unless they wish

tions. Is it correct to demand a five year sentence? Or is it more revolutionary to go for 10 years... or six months?

Rape centers

The opening of Rape Crisis centers in Britain provides the basis for an alternative to women who have been raped. Beyond the much-needed support they provide, these centers can also become organizing centers for ongoing campaigning activity against rape.

But today few such centers exist. Those that do have been set up through the efforts of small groups of feminists. While these centers must always be under the democratic control of women, facilities should be provided—no strings attached—by the state.

The emphasis in any ongoing campaign on rape must be on its prevention. Any women organizing to defend themselves deserve rigorous support.

For centuries women have been socialized into submission. Their physical strength has remained undeveloped. The growing number of women's self-defense groups should be supplemented by attempting to end the absurd division between male and female physical education. Self-defense classes in schools could form part of the concerted campaign to prevent rape.

Democratic rights

But we must also demand that the state take its responsibility in protecting the democratic rights of women which it claims to offer. The state should provide better street lighting, free and easily available late transport, and other forms of protection found necessary by women.

Women have only their own organization to rely on. The labor movement, which could add enormous weight to a women's campaign against rape, treats the issue in the same way that it treated the issue of abortion. Rape is seen as a private, individual affair, completely outside the concern of the unions.

However, an orientation to the labor movement is a vital part of any mass campaign. The women's movement could force working-class organizations into action on the rape issue.

As socialists the struggle against rape must be seen as part of the struggle for socialism, and must be seen as bringing us closer to the day when the repressive state of class society is smashed, opening the door to a society based on democratic and independent forms of organization.

Ontario Working Women meet

Yonge St. 'clean-up' won't stop sexploitation

By Mary Ellen Delany

TORONTO—After years of talking about cleaning up the Yonge Street sex strip, the Toronto and Ontario governments have recently jumped at the opportunity to plot a repressive crackdown.

Spurred on by the response to the so-called "sex killing" last July of Emanuel Jaques, a Yonge Street shoeshine boy, the police have reacted with unflagging zeal. Their major target: prostitutes, hundreds of whom have been harassed and arrested.

Angered at this attack, Organized Working Women held a meeting September 27 to discuss "The sex trade—who gains, who loses?" and the related issue of the causes of prostitution.

Participants in the meeting agreed it was impossible to eradicate prostitution in a society which chains women to the most degrading roles, forcing them to suffer extreme social and economic oppression. High rates of unemployment have struck women hard, leaving hundreds jobless, with such options as being a "waitress, computer operator, or someone's wife." Working women are often forced into low-paying job ghettos, merely reinforcing bigotry towards women.

Lack of social services, the difficulty of obtaining welfare and low cost housing, were seen by Lynn King, a Toronto feminist lawyer, as other contributing factors to female sexploitation.

Another speaker denounced a society which spawns "economically deprived, poorly educated younger women," who are the building blocks of the

prostitution business. Many young women arriving in Toronto, faced with the difficulty of finding a job and a place to stay, turn to the streets and bawdy houses as a means of survival.

In a society which preaches women's inferiority, where young girls are taught to trade on their sexual favors, and where the stereotyped woman is either a virgin or whore, often the desperate conclusion is prostitution. Sex itself is turned into a commodity as big business plasters female bodies on magazine covers and uses women to sell breakfast cereal.

These ideas do not just suddenly fall from the sky, but are rooted in the nature of the nuclear family.

Women are steered into marriage, preferably chaste beforehand and faithful throughout. Far from being a refuge, the family represents much more fundamentally a compulsive economic unit which must bear the responsibility for the upkeep of humanity—from the care of the young to the welfare of the old.

Premarital chastity and marital fidelity for women have as their complements pornography and prostitution. Forced and repressive family relations, designed to guard its survival, lead to mercenary sexuality, inside and outside marriage.

Undesirable solutions

Discussion at the OWW meeting also took up the question: Should we legalize prostitution? Should we license women and treat them as "government inspected meat," en-

suring readily accessible female bodies at a reasonable price?

Or do we decriminalize prostitution by taking soliciting out of the criminal code? As it stands now, when the police crack down on body rub parlors, it is women who get harassed, not the pimps or those who put the price tags on prostitutes.

Measures like the "clean up Yonge Street" campaign often succeed only in moving the sex strip one street back, perpetuating the problem.

Short term measures are fraught with dangers. The media hype surrounding the murder of Emanuel Jaques helped fuel a "moral" public hysteria and a "law and order" syndrome accompanied with calls for "more power to the police" and "capital punishment for perverses."

Related antigay attitudes resulted in brutal beatings in the gay community. Waves of "moral indignation" have resulted in more censorship and sexual repression. This reactionary atmosphere has escalated and can lead to further anti-civil rights, anti-woman, antigay, and anti-union attitudes.

Sexual exploitation must be abolished, but the Yonge Street clean-up is a diversion. Those who are concerned about the question should consider fighting for a decent living wage for all, so women are not forced to sell their bodies to survive.

A real, lasting solution can be found in a completely transformed society, where people are free of warped, alienated sexual relations, where human rights are guaranteed, and where women's liberation is a reality.

One year after the general strike

October 14 marks two anniversaries. Two years ago the Trudeau government launched the greatest attack on labor's interests and rights since World War II—the imposition of wage controls. And it is now one year since the great cross-country general strike—the biggest mobilization of workers in the country's history.

Now it is the third October 14. And there is little to celebrate. Despite all the efforts and struggles by workers, wage controls remain intact. Last year, there was a tremendous and inspiring struggle. But was it futile, as Trudeau said at the time?

Not in our view. The futility lay in the demobilization of labor's ranks after the promising beginning marked by the October 14 general strike.

If we want to assign responsibility for labor's inability to defeat the controls, we need to look no farther than the policies pursued by the official Canadian Labor Congress leadership. For it was they who assured working people that solutions could be found through backroom deals with the bosses and their governments.

Now, after many months of trying to arrange such a deal, controls are still in force. Month by month, the living standards of workers, union and non-union alike, are pushed back while unemployment rises steadily.

The record is clear. Another course is needed.

Increasingly, it seems that this view is not only held by revolutionary socialists. In the last issue of *Socialist Voice*, we published extracts from a speech delivered on Labor Day in Hamilton by Jean-Claude Parrot, president of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers. In that speech, Parrot sharply criticized the existing policies of the CLC leadership. He called for a "strategy of confrontation" based on united mobilizations by the union rank and file.

That speech, which met with an enthusiastic response from 3,000 workers, is indicative of a new mood in the Canadian labor movement. This mood, this discussion of new ideas, is to be welcomed. It presents the possibility that next October 14, workers will have something to celebrate.

No Canadian troops to southern Africa

The benevolent peacemaker of the world. That's how Canadian imperialism has presented itself in world politics, ever since Lester Pearson pulled the chestnuts out of the fire for the big imperialist countries during the Suez crisis in 1956. Pearson's contribution to "world peace" was a settlement that denied Egypt the right to control the Suez Canal by placing it under the military supervision of a United Nations "peacekeeping" force—with Canadian troops.

Pearson got a Nobel Peace Prize for his efforts. Now it seems that External Affairs Minister Don Jamieson is angling for his own place in world history. On September 21 Jamieson made public an offer to send Canadian troops to either Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) or Namibia (South-West Africa, a colony of South Africa).

Once the veil of humanitarian rhetoric is torn aside, the motives behind the offer become crystal-clear. Imperialism is determined at all costs to void a further "deterioration" of the situation in southern Africa—that is, further political and military advances for the liberation movements.

A clear victory for the oppressed Black masses of Zimbabwe and Namibia would be the beginning of the end for apartheid rule in South Africa itself. And South Africa is both the key to imperialism's domination of Africa as a whole and the main center of imperialist investment in the continent—including average annual investments by Canadian big business of more than \$100 million.

What kind of "peace" would these troops be used for? In Zimbabwe they would enforce a "cease-fire" based on disarmament of the Black forces—a "solution" that would leave the Black masses to the tender mercies of Smith, Vorster, and their backers in London and Washington. In Namibia, they would replace South African troops as a foreign occupation army.

All the representative bodies of the Canadian labor movement have called for immediate majority rule in southern Africa. Today Canadian labor can best support that cause by vigorously opposing the use of Canadian troops to obstruct the right of self-determination of the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia.

*Hands off Zimbabwe and Namibia!
Not one Canadian soldier to Africa!*

letters

Objects to 'Forward' attack on gays

The September issue of *Forward*, a monthly paper reflecting the views of the Socialist League (SL), contained a report on the fusion process that led to the formation of the Revolutionary Workers League last August. The article, written by SL leader Ross Dowson, commented on the campaign of the League for Socialist Action (LSA) in the June Ontario provincial election.

The LSA, which fused with two other organizations to form the RWL, ran Therese Faubert in Brampton riding against Ontario Premier William Davis.

Without naming Faubert, Dowson says:

"... instead of serving as an example of how a socialist campaigns, the radical lifestyle of its demonstratively pregnant, single-

parent, lesbian candidate depoliticized the LSA's effort—freaking-out NDPers and others moving to political class consciousness."

The author of the following letter, a copy of which was sent to *Socialist Voice*, has been active in the gay liberation movement for several years.

—The Editors

The Editor,
Forward

Dear Editor,

I was shocked and disgusted to see that Ross Dowson's only concrete criticism of the LSA candidate in the recent election was the fact that she is "demonstratively pregnant, single-parent," and a lesbian.

The flaunting of such prejudice in a "socialist" newspaper defies comment, being beneath contempt, but one thing can be said: it certainly makes Dowson's words about "principle" and "wholesale capitulation" ring hollow.

If the LSA tried to rise above the swamp of bourgeois morality it is to be applauded; Dowson's bilge, on the other hand, makes the water fester.

Hide your Jews, your East-Indians, your physically handicapped, hide all your pariahs, forget the words of the *Internationale*—but hide also your newspaper from the eyes of this reader, himself a pariah and per-versely proud of it. Cancel my subscription.

Sincerely,
Walter Bruno

Elizabeth Hnatyshyn

By Beverly Bernardo

On July 29 Elizabeth Hnatyshyn, a member of the Young Socialists (YS) and League for Socialist Action (LSA) in Edmonton, died of leukemia. She was 24 years old.

When Elizabeth joined the YS in Winnipeg in August 1974, she was aware of her terminal illness. Determined to get the maximum out of life, she was extremely active. In addition to being a full-time student with three part-time

confidence we have plenty of time to accomplish our various goals. Elizabeth, however, lived in uncertainty about her future. Yet her decision was firm—to go to Edmonton.

She spent the last two years of her life building the socialist movement in Edmonton. After November 1976, even though her health began to deteriorate rapidly, she continued to work to her capacity—planning classes or helping at whatever task needed to be done.

She argued strongly for the fusion of revolutionary Marxist organizations in Canada. And she died in the knowledge that this battle was won: the fusion conventions were under way and the Revolutionary Workers League was about to be born.

Elizabeth fervently believed that building a revolutionary party was the most useful and fulfilling way for a person to spend her life. The strength of her example helped to transmit that conviction to other comrades.

Published below are excerpts from two of the talks given at an August 26 memorial meeting in Edmonton. They indicate the impact that Elizabeth had on other comrades.

Dave M.

In the movement there exists no formal title which designates one as an "educator." The movement needs education and forum committees to organize our educational program, but all of us as individuals can play a role in the political development of comrades. Elizabeth fulfilled this dual role of educator.

It was during the preparation of our highly successful Vanguard forum on Argentina, that I first had the opportunity to work with Elizabeth.

Elizabeth was to speak at the forum. I was assigned to collaborate with her in working with our other speaker, a leader of the Chilean MIR Support Group.

This comrade thought that Trotskyists were far removed from the "action" in Latin America and as such incapable of understanding Latin American politics.

During the course of the pre-forum discussion, Elizabeth not only defended our politics, but did it in such a manner as not to alienate the MIR comrade. She also managed to convince me of the correctness of the Trotskyists' approach to Latin America.

Lynn Richards

In the months before she died Elizabeth and I spent many hours discussing books, films, politics, and day-to-day life. The focus of most of these conversations was anything and everything that related to women. We discussed our common experience of growing up and living in our anti-female society.

In addition to being committed to feminist ideas, Elizabeth was active in various women's liberation struggles, including the campaign to repeal Canada's anti-abortion laws. I think one of the experiences we had in Edmonton organizing the tour for Evelyn Reed, a Marxist anthropologist, shows what a fighter Elizabeth was.

The Student Union Forums director had promised the tour committee \$500 for expenses; then a few days later he announced to Elizabeth that he was cutting the amount in half. Somehow she managed to convince him to come to our meeting, despite the fact that he knew he would be facing 10 angry women.

The discussion on the funds was long and heated. The more we talked the more adamant was the forums director's refusal to give us the money we had been promised. We were just about at our wits' end when a young woman who had been sitting quietly in the corner spoke up.

She was a student council representative whom Elizabeth had invited to the meeting when she realized we were in for a battle. Her support for us was the final blow to the forums director, and he left the meeting quickly. We got the money. We all felt we had won a big victory.

Conditioned as we are to passive acceptance, other women might have given up. What Elizabeth knew, and what I learned, is that sometimes you have to fight hard just to stay even—but also that it is possible to outmaneuver our enemies.



jobs, she also managed the students co-op store and was a member of the International Students Organization.

Nobody could keep up that pace for long. Gradually Elizabeth became convinced that her role in fighting for a socialist world had to be her top priority. She was won to this perspective both through her experiences in campaigns such as defense of Chilean political prisoners and education in the ideas of scientific socialism. A Christian when she joined, Elizabeth became convinced of the reactionary role of religious superstition.

In May 1975 the LSA decided to close down the Winnipeg branch in order to strengthen other branches across the country. Elizabeth agreed to go to Edmonton, although she had originally wanted to go to Vancouver.

This meant she had to set aside her personal plans—a small sacrifice for most of us, who have

In this issue Socialist Voice continues its publication of material relating to the formation of the Revolutionary Workers League/Ligue Ouvrière Révolutionnaire. The RWL results from the fusion of the Revolutionary Marxist Group, the League for Socialist Action/Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière, and the Groupe Marxiste Révolutionnaire.

In the months leading up to last August's fusion convention, members of the three founding organizations held extensive discussions based on documents taking up many political issues. Future issues of the Voice will report on different aspects of these discussions.

In this issue, we are making available the RWL/LOR's Declaration of Principles, jointly drafted by leaders of the three founding organizations and unanimously adopted by the founding convention on August 8. This issue also contains a report on the development of the fusion in Quebec.

The Declaration was not intended to be an exhaustive statement of the theory and program of Marxism. It does not aim to present the Revolutionary Workers League's position on current issues of Canadian and Quebec politics.

Nor did it try to summarize the extent of political agreement reached in the fusion process, which goes far beyond the general ideas outlined in the Declaration.

Instead the Declaration seeks to summarize the most basic ideas that have historically distinguished revolutionary socialists from other tendencies in the Canadian and international labor movement, especially the Stalinist and Social Democratic reformists.

The Revolutionary Workers League believes that these ideas constitute the essential political basis upon which the revolutionary party will be built. It also believes that the Declaration provides a framework for discussion between the RWL and other socialist groups and individuals who share its goal of revolutionary socialist unity.

Revolutionary Workers League



Statement of Principles

1
For more than a century the domination of the capitalist mode of production has posed before humanity the alternatives: Socialism or Barbarism.

Decaying capitalism has long been the central obstacle to social progress. Imperialism in its death agony can promise the world's peoples only further economic crises, famine, war, national and sexual oppression, and the erosion of democratic rights.

Since 1945 the threat of nuclear holocaust has put in question the continued existence of humanity itself. The uncontrolled disruption of the environment by anarchic capitalism poses a similar threat.

The only definitive solution to these problems is the elimination of capitalism and its institutions, and the establishment of collective social ownership of the means of production, rational economic and social planning, and the abolition of all forms of national, racial, and sexual oppression and privileges.

Thus, the fundamental task of revolutionary Marxists is to build a revolutionary party capable of leading the workers and their allies toward the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism.

2
"All talk to the effect that historical conditions have not yet 'ripened' for socialism is the product of ignorance or conscious deception. The objective prerequisites for the proletarian revolution have not only 'ripened'; they have begun to get somewhat rotten." — *The Transitional Program of the Fourth International*

Since World War I, this statement has been verified time and again. The world revolutionary process has experienced periods of rise and decline; its tempo has been uneven. But it has never ceased to be the central political fact of the epoch that opened with the Russian Revolution of 1917. The workers and poor peasants have repeatedly shaken the very foundations of the capitalist order.

The majority of these struggles have ended in setbacks and even in defeats. However, the responsibility for these setbacks lies not with the masses, whose revolutionary capacity remains intact, but rather with the treacherous policies of the old leaderships of the masses: the Stalinist and Social Democratic parties, and, in the oppressed nations, the petty-bourgeois nationalist parties. The hold that these bureaucratic leaderships exercise today over the masses constitutes the central political obstacle to the victory of the world revolution.

The necessity of building revolutionary Marxist parties and a revolutionary Marxist International flows from both aspects of this reality: on the one hand, the actuality of the revolution; on the other, the necessity for a revolutionary leadership that is able to win the overwhelming majority of the workers, poor peasants, and other exploited social layers to the revolutionary program, and thereby to assure the victory of the socialist revolution.

3
Capitalism has developed as a world economic system. It is illusory to believe that the much higher development of the productive forces that socialism entails can be achieved within the framework of a single country.

The division of the world into different states imposes a definite form on the revolutionary process. The proletariat must and can take power and begin to build socialism in the territories defined by different existing states. But the construction of socialism can be completed only on a world scale.

Proletarian internationalism is the political and theoretical reflection of this reality. Far from expressing a sentimental or moral outlook, proletarian internationalism is based on the objective unity of interests of the world proletariat and on the strategic interdependence of its struggles in the various countries and regions. Such internationalism becomes concrete and receives its highest expression in the inter-

national revolutionary party, the Fourth International.

4
The uneven development of world capitalism and the world revolution determines the different components of the struggle for world socialism.

In the advanced capitalist countries the immediate task of the proletarian revolution is to expropriate and disarm the imperialist bourgeoisie and place full power in the hands of the working class, the majority of the population in these countries.

In the colonial and semicolonial countries capitalism is unable to accomplish even tasks that the bourgeoisie long ago achieved in the advanced capitalist countries. The elimination of famine and illiteracy, the achievement of national independence and unification: all are pressing tasks of the colonial revolution.

But these national and democratic tasks cannot be fulfilled if the revolution is contained within a bourgeois framework. Only the growing over of the revolution into a socialist revolution—with the destruction of capitalist as well as precapitalist social relations, and the tearing of the national economy out of the world capitalist market—can ensure the definitive solution of the national and democratic tasks.

This combination of democratic and socialist tasks determines the need for the colonial proletariat to take power in its own name while establishing under its leadership a close alliance between the workers and the urban and rural petty-bourgeoisie (who constitute the majority of the populations in many of these countries).

The logic of this outlook, which revolutionary Marxists call the theory of permanent revolution, has been confirmed many times since the victory of the Russian Revolution (positively in China and Cuba, for example, and negatively in Algeria, Indonesia, and elsewhere).

In the bureaucratized workers states (including the Soviet Union, the East European countries, and China) the bourgeoisie has already been overthrown

and capitalist relations of production have been replaced by nationalized, planned economies. But political power has been usurped by a privileged bureaucracy, which uses its monopoly over political and economic decision-making to protect and reinforce its material privileges. Only the victory of the antibureaucratic political revolution can permit the full development of socialist democracy.

While ceaselessly struggling for the overthrow of the ruling bureaucratic castes in these countries, revolutionary Marxists unconditionally defend these states against all imperialist attacks and against any attempt to re-establish capitalism.

5
The international labor movement has long been divided between reformists—who claim that the proletariat's aims can be realized through the institutional framework of the bourgeois-democratic state—and proponents of the revolutionary road to socialism.

The bourgeoisie has demonstrated time and again that if its system is fundamentally challenged, it will defy any hostile parliamentary majority to defend its class interests. Its principal means of defense is its state apparatus: the courts, jails, police, army, and administrative bureaucracy. This apparatus must be demolished by the working class and its allies and replaced by a state based on democratically-elected councils of representatives of the working class and its allies.

These councils will be democratically linked together at the national and, ultimately, international levels. They will function according to the principles of workers democracy, derived from the experience of the world proletariat since the Paris Commune of 1871.

6
The victory of the revolution can occur only through the active participation of the overwhelming majority of the population. Thus revolutionary Marxists reject all militarist, putschist, and terrorist illusions. The actions of a small revolutionary minority cannot substitute for the revolutionary mass action of the proletariat and its allies.

7
The entire experience of the international proletariat for 150 years demonstrates conclusively that while the "spontaneous" action of the masses is an element of prime importance in the struggle for power, it is not sufficient to ensure the victory of this struggle.

The program of the socialist revolution, which includes the theoretical principles of Marxism and the strategic heritage of several generations of class struggle, will not arise spontaneously from the masses.

Only conscious and permanent organization of the proponents of this program can assure its survival and elaboration. Only the organization of the proletarian vanguard in a Leninist revolutionary party, equipped with the revolutionary program and rooted in the masses, can prepare the masses for the seizure of power in the Canadian state.

The Leninist party brings together all the forces within the working class and the oppressed layers who struggle for the socialist revolution. Its basis of unity is active agreement with the program of revolutionary Marxism.

It is not monolithic because the very diversity of the class struggle produces a diversity of opinion within the vanguard itself. Its positions are adopted by majority vote after a full, democratic debate in which all its members participate.

But it must be a party of combat, unified in action. So the positions adopted by the majority are applied by all its members until collective practical experience confirms or invalidates these positions. This method of functioning, demanding the greatest democracy in the elaboration of the line and the greatest discipline in action, is

continued on page 8

Socialist unity declaration

'Statement of Principles'

continued from page 7

historically known as democratic centralism.

8

"The Communists... have no interests separate and apart from those of the proletariat as a whole... They always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole." — *The Communist Manifesto*

Every defeat of the working class, no matter what the issue, is a blow to the socialist revolution. The proletariat prepares itself for the revolution through a variety of struggles around partial and intermediate goals. Revolutionary Marxists support and participate in all struggles against exploitation and oppression and seek to contribute to their victory.

However, the intervention and the program of revolutionary Marxists is in no way limited to participation in these partial struggles. The old Social Democratic division of the program into a maximum program (the revolution, mentioned only on Sunday) and a minimum program (small reforms within the framework of the system) must be completely rejected.

But at present the majority of the proletariat does not understand the necessity of socialist revolution. And it will not be convinced by ritual and abstract calls to revolution. To bridge the gap between the masses' present level of consciousness and struggle and the revolutionary consciousness necessary for the socialist revolution, a *transitional program* must be put forward.

For revolutionary Marxists this means a program of demands that are rooted in the objective needs of the masses and their present level of consciousness but which, in the course of struggle for their realization, lead the masses to understand the necessity to destroy the bourgeois state.

Revolutionary Marxists are consistent fighters for the unity of the working class. They support and build trade unions and fight for the unions to incorporate and take up the demands of all workers,

regardless of sex, race, national origin, or political belief. They advocate the workers united front against the bourgeoisie.

United actions with the reformist workers organizations can be especially important in ensuring the victory of specific struggles, facilitating the development of proletarian class consciousness, and building the workers' confidence in their own revolutionary capacity.

9

The Stalinist, Social Democratic, and trade-union bureaucracies seek to deflect the thrust of the class struggle toward various types of collaboration with the bourgeoisie and its institutions.

Just as they are consistent fighters for the unity of the working class, revolutionary Marxists struggle at all times for the complete political independence of the proletariat and its allies from all sections of the bourgeoisie. They systematically oppose all forms of class collaboration: "integration" of the trade unions into the administration of the capitalist economy or individual enterprises; political support to bourgeois parties or governments; alliances between workers parties and bourgeois parties with the objective of forming governments.

10

Revolutionary Marxists actively defend all democratic rights of the masses, including freedom of movement, of assembly, of belief, of speech, and all trade-union rights. Moreover, they seek to qualitatively expand all these rights in a workers state by ending the economic and political limitations imposed on them by the capitalist "order." They endeavor to demonstrate to the masses that socialist democracy is qualitatively more democratic than bourgeois "democracy."

11

The struggle to liberate women from the bondage in which class society has placed them is a struggle to free human relationships from the shackles of economic com-

pulsion and to propel humanity along the road to a higher social order.

The oppression of one half of humanity—the oppression of women—is a central strategic concern for revolutionary Marxists. The oppression of women in general and the institution of the nuclear family in particular are integral to the capitalist system.

Women's oppression is a mainstay of capitalist economic stability, both through the superexploitation of women workers and through the role of women's domestic labor in maintaining the labor force. Ideologically, capitalism is bolstered by the reproduction of capitalist social relations within the family.

Thus, one of the first tasks of a victorious socialist revolution will be to initiate the socialization of domestic labor as a means toward abolishing the sexual division of labor.

While understanding that only the overthrow of the capitalist system itself will create the material conditions for the full equality of women, revolutionary Marxists support all struggles against the oppression of women and participate in building the independent women's movement.

The liberation of women is a fundamental task both leading up to and after the socialist revolution. This must be fully recognized by the proletariat and its vanguard in order to realize the complete unity of the male and female sections of the proletariat and to maximize the revolutionary potential of the independent women's movements that have developed on a mass scale in many countries.

Together with heterosexual women, male and female homosexuals—who constitute at least 10 percent of the adult population of the advanced capitalist countries—are oppressed by the institutions and sexist ideology of capitalist society. Revolutionary Marxists denounce and combat all forms of legal and ideological discrimination against homosexuals.

12

By virtue of its economic, social, and political characteristics and of its place within the world capitalist system, Canadian capitalism is defined by revolutionary Marxists as imperialist. Thus, they unconditionally reject all forms of Canadian nationalism as reactionary.

The task of the proletariat in Canada is not to struggle for "independence" from U.S. imperialism. It is first and foremost to struggle for the overthrow of the Canadian bourgeoisie. A central aspect of revolutionary strategy is the struggle against the oppression of Quebec.

The Canadian state is a prison house of peoples. An unrelenting struggle must be waged in defense of the rights of francophones in provinces outside Quebec and against the brutal oppression of the native peoples. The working class must defend the rights of immigrants and ethnic minorities in Canada.

Active solidarity with the foreign victims of Canadian imperialism—in the first place, the oppressed masses of Africa, the Caribbean, and Latin America—is likewise a priority of revolutionary Marxists.

13

Quebec is an oppressed nation within the Canadian Confederation. Although its economy is highly industrialized, unlike classic colonies, its development has been deformed by Canadian and American imperialist domination. The Canadian state denies Quebec the right to self-determination—its right to its own state. The Quebecois suffer severe economic, social, cultural, and linguistic oppression.

The struggle of the working class and of the Quebecois masses for national liberation has profound revolutionary im-



European Fourth Internationalists march in 1971 Commune.

plications for the entire North American continent. It creates structural instability in the Canadian state, threatening the very survival of this state as a separate imperialist power. The example of this struggle can reverberate even in the United States, especially among the oppressed nationalities that are an important component of that country's working class.

Revolutionary Marxists defend unconditionally the right of Quebec to self-determination and the concrete expression of that right, the struggle for political independence. But they also emphasize that without the complete elimination of imperialist domination, national oppression cannot be eliminated.

Only the proletarian revolution can lay the basis for national liberation by accomplishing simultaneously the national tasks and the expropriation of capital. The working class is the only class that can lead this struggle for national liberation and for socialism to victory.

The Parti Quebecois is a bourgeois nationalist party which, at present, enjoys the massive support of Quebecois workers. Revolutionary Marxists struggle for the Quebecois workers to break politically with this party and with all bourgeois parties and to form their own political party, which would fight for a workers government.

14

In English Canada there is only one mass party that is based on the organized labor movement, the New Democratic Party. Revolutionary Marxists describe this party as a reformist workers party of the Social Democratic type. This distinguishes it from the Liberal, Conservative, and Social Credit parties, which are parties controlled directly by the capitalist class and which function as its principal political instruments. This definition likewise distinguishes the NDP from the bourgeois nationalist Parti Quebecois.

But the NDP is in no sense a workers party from the standpoint of its program. It is completely committed to the preservation of the private property system and the bourgeois state. Its fundamental role is to represent the particular interests of the conservative trade-union bureaucracy.

The NDP can never be transformed into a vehicle of struggle for socialism. It is the principal obstacle to the socialist revolution within the organized workers movement in English Canada.

However, the hundreds of thousands of



Clockwise from top left: Trotsky, Gramsci, Luxemburg, Marx, Lenin, Trotsky.



Rouge

demonstration celebrating centennial of Paris

workers who currently follow the leadership of the NDP should not be identified with this rotten leadership. This leadership must be politically defeated through the building of a mass revolutionary workers party that will win the allegiance of the majority of the proletariat, including those who follow the NDP. The building of the revolutionary workers party in English Canada therefore requires flexible application of the united front tactic towards the NDP.

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The victory of the socialist revolution requires an international program, an international strategy, and thus, an international organization of the proletarian vanguard. These have always been the goals of all those who considered themselves revolutionary Marxists, including Marx, Engels, Lenin, Luxemburg, and Trotsky. These goals were inscribed in the program of the Communist International.

Today, alone among the various tendencies that claim the Marxist and Leninist heritage, the Fourth International functions as a worldwide organization. The struggle to build the Fourth International as a mass international revolutionary party is inseparable from the building of mass revolutionary parties in every country.

— Adopted August 8, 1977

Statement of Principles



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Quebec socialists fuse

'We must be champions of unity, fraternal debate'

By Michel Prairie

An important component of the three-way fusion that created the Revolutionary Workers League was the unification in Quebec of the *Groupe Marxiste Revolutionnaire* (GMR) and the *Ligue Socialiste Ouvriere* (LSO).

Michel Prairie presented the thinking of the outgoing GMR leadership on the need for this fusion to the August 4-7 convention of the GMR.

Both the GMR and the LSO had counterparts in English Canada. But the GMR was organized separately in Quebec, while the LSO was part of a pan-Canadian organization.

Following two reports and extensive discussion, the GMR convention voted unanimously to unite with the LSO.

After a separate discussion, it voted to join with the League for Socialist Action and the Revolutionary Marxist Group in a common pan-Canadian section of the Fourth International.

The following are excerpts from Michel Prairie's report. The translation is by Socialist Voice.

Why do we say that fusion has now become a necessity? There are three main reasons.

The first is the evolution of the class struggle. The election of the Parti Quebecois government on November 15 opened a new political period in both Quebec and Canada.

This offers us a new historical opportunity to build the Fourth International in Quebec, and we cannot permit this opening to be lost.

The second reason is linked in large measure to the first. Comrades, the Fourth International missed the two preceding waves of radicalization in Quebec, between 1968 and 1971, and then between 1972 and 1975. This was because of political errors that we corrected later, and because of the split between the GMR and the LSO/LSA in 1972.

We let a strong Mao-Stalinist current develop beside us. This current has incorrect positions on the national question, an ultrabureaucratic approach to the mass movements, and outright reactionary positions on the question of women. It is a major obstacle that we must confront in building the mass revolutionary party that we need.

The third reason is that we can never construct a credible Trotskyist pole in Quebec with two rival organizations that both claim to represent the Fourth International and its program, and that present identical political positions on all the key questions of the Quebec class struggle, including the question of its strategic framework.

At one time there were significant political differences between the GMR and the LSO, and we were separated by a climate of hostility. Some comrades have therefore correctly asked whether the fusion we are proposing would really take place on a principled basis, or whether it was rather a question of a shotgun marriage.

After many weeks of discussion and debate, we can say that there is a very close convergence between the GMR and the LSO on the four central questions of the Quebec class struggle:

- The framework of the Quebec revolution—a combination of the struggle for national liberation and the struggle for socialism.
- The imperialist character of the Canadian bourgeoisie.
- The significance of the PQ victory for both Quebec and Canada; and the stakes in the period following this victory.
- The class nature of Quebec political formations, including the Parti Quebecois' character as a bourgeois nationalist party.

But the convergence and the agreement goes much further than that. We agree on the tasks of revolutionary Marxists in

Quebec in the new period, and on just what we must undertake in the next year.

We should not imagine that every area of disagreement has disappeared, like snow melting in the sun. There are still disagreements between comrades of the LSO and GMR. Some of these are on



Michel Prairie

MacInnis/Socialist Voice

organizational questions. On other points we have not yet had any discussion. Examples are the language question, and the question of the Quebec NDP.

But we are convinced that these questions can be discussed within a common organization. They cannot excuse a failure to unify.

And there are also many disagreements that cut across the lines of the two organizations.

In addition we must not think that the present convergence is the result of some kind of capitulation either by the LSO, by the GMR, or by both groups. The LSO and the GMR today are no longer the

organizations they were at the time of the split.

The LSO/LSA has carried out important political corrections since 1972 on questions we regard as central: the question of tailism toward Quebec nationalism; the nature of Canadian imperialism; the New Democratic Party in English Canada; and democratic centralism.

But the GMR for its part has not held rigidly to its positions. For example, at this convention, the outgoing Central Committee and now the membership as a whole have taken a stand on the importance of the slogan for a workers party based on the trade-union movement, as a concretization in Quebec of the method of the workers united front.

The fusion process also aided us greatly in developing our understanding of how to build a revolutionary organization. For the leadership, it was a break with a linear and sometimes sectarian conception which we had implicitly held since our foundation.

This should have substantial implications for our ability to address other currents of the far left in Quebec, to debate and to polemicize with them, and to propose perspectives for united action with them.

At this moment the GSTQ (Quebec Socialist Workers Group) is considering significant changes in its political line. A wide layer of activists will seek an alternative to the PQ on the one hand, and the Mao-Stalinists on the other. And one of the major Maoist currents, *En Lutte* (In Struggle), faces growing political difficulties that could lead to a major crisis.

We, the Trotskyists of the Fourth International, must become the champions of unity and fraternal debate.

Comrades, the fusion with the LSO is an initial step in what we hope will be a rich and rapid process of building the Fourth International in Quebec and in Canada.

It will have an important effect not only in the International, but here too—within the far left and among all left activists.

The fusion will give birth to a new organization, qualitatively superior to its two initial components. The new organization will grow in size, in its capacity for initiative, and its political authority.



Quebec Inuit speak out

'We need to defend our own language'

Published below are extensive excerpts from a brief presented to the Quebec government in August by representatives of three Inuit villages in northern Quebec.

The villages—Povungnituk, Ivujivik, and Saglone—represent about 30 percent of the 4,500 Inuit in Nouveau Quebec, as the region is called. They lead opposition within the Inuit community to the James Bay agreement negotiated by the Northern Quebec Inuit Association (NQIA) and representatives of the Cree Indians with the Quebec and federal governments. The dissident Inuit villages boycotted the 1975 referendum on the agreement, protesting its surrender of aboriginal rights in two-thirds of Quebec territory.

The Inuit dissidents likewise refused to join in the protest action the NQIA recently organized at Fort Chimo in opposition to Law 101, the Quebec government's new language charter. (See article last issue.)

The NQIA was objecting to clauses in Law 101 that would oblige Inuit moving to Quebec to attend French schools, and that make French the operational language of bodies set up to administer the James Bay agreement. It says these provisions are in conflict with the agreement, which allowed communications in English, and violate the right of the Inuit to speak English, their second language.

The dissident Inuit villages don't approve of these clauses in Law 101, either. But they approach the question from a different angle. The main issue facing the Inuit people, they argue, is how to defend their first language, Inuittitut.

The [Northern Quebec Inuit] Association argues... that the Eskimos living in different regions, such as Nouveau Quebec, the Northwest Territories, Alaska, and Greenland can communicate among themselves only by using English as their common language.

Fortunately, this statement is unfounded, at least for the time being. But if we don't strive to defend our language and culture, it's a fact that we may very well end up having to use a foreign language, probably English, to communicate not only between the various groups, but among ourselves.

That is what has already happened to many Eskimos in the Inuvik region in the western part of the Northwest Territories. They have been unable to resist the federal government's efforts to assimilate them.

We think that at present it is inaccurate to claim, as the association does, that for want of being able to understand each other in our own language, communications between the different Eskimo groups requires the use of the English language.

The language spoken by the Inuit of Northern Quebec is understood by Inuit throughout the Canadian North. For example, the CBC's northern service broadcasts throughout the North in the language spoken around James Bay; yet there have been no

These opponents of the NQIA say they sympathize with Quebecois attempts to legislate protection of the French language and achieve national sovereignty. They seek a similar goal for themselves: as they explain below, regional self-government with full power to develop their own language and culture. The James Bay agreement, they point out, runs counter to that objective.

The Inuit villages' brief is an historic document in the mounting struggle for national self-determination of the oppressed native peoples in this country. In the profound issues it speaks to, and the concepts it expresses, it must rank with the Dene Declaration issued by Natives in the Northwest Territories.

Of particular interest is the statement's affirmation of the continuing viability of traditional Inuit culture as an instrument of economic and social development.

The text below has been translated from a French translation from Inuittitut published in *Le Devoir* August 18. (To our knowledge, no other English text exists.) Italicized passages summarize sections that were omitted for reasons of space. The English translation and summaries are by Socialist Voice.

A note on terminology. The word "Eskimo," used in *Le Devoir's* version, is retained; we have been unable to ascertain whether or not the original text used this term, which is now commonly replaced by "Inuit."

— Richard Fidler

complaints that this language is not understood.

Similarly, whatever their existing differences, the dialects will gradually converge to the degree that the Eskimos from



Signing of James Bay agreement November 11, 1975. To right of then Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa is Charlie Watt, president of Northern Quebec Inuit Association. Behind Watt is Jean Chretien, representing federal government.



Leaders of dissident Inuit, authors of statement outlining self-determination goals.

different regions have cause to work at common projects. There is no doubt that this convergence of the various dialects of our language will occur as communication increases among the various groups. But if we want to reach the clearest possible understanding between the various Eskimo groups, in the Eskimo language, the first task facing us is to strengthen our own language so that it can become the sole vehicle of that understanding and communication.

If, as the association claims, a second language is necessary for communication among the different Eskimo groups, then we think that, given that the largest group of Eskimos lives in Greenland, we would be well advised to learn Danish, which is that group's second language.

The association also told you that the Eskimos who cannot speak English are so few in number that they could fit into the palm of a hand. This is false.

Many of us were startled when we heard that... at a time when you francophones are preparing to adopt a law to protect and strengthen your language, the association that claims to be the representative of the Eskimos is doing absolutely nothing to protect our language, and is even scoffing at it.

We want you to know that while some of our youth are well versed in English jargon, there are very few Eskimos in Nouveau Quebec who have sufficiently mastered that language to be good interpreters. And the elders speak only Eskimo.

The association went so far as to state that English is one of our two traditional languages, and that moreover the English language has enabled us to affirm our identity as a distinct people.

We haven't stopped laughing at that statement, for we have never heard of a people living on the face of the globe for whom the use of someone else's language

was a precondition to the safeguarding of its own culture.

This attitude may derive from the fact that while we have known the white man for a long time, and the white man has known us just as long, our culture, our language, and our way of life have up to now been treated with condescension by people who in the name of progress have treated us and still treat us as children.

This paternalist and colonialist attitude has led some of our own people to neglect their customs, their language, and their culture and to adopt the culture and language of the colonizer, hoping thereby to obtain the keys to power and progress. Unfortunately, these people have become only pale imitations of those who have always sought to decide in place of us.

As Quebecois, you will have no difficulty in understanding the existence of this phenomenon among us. Isn't that what happens throughout the world?

The association's attitude toward the draft language law follows logically from the following facts:

- The association conducts its activities and correspondence solely in English.

- The James Bay agreement has yet to be translated into our own language. Only a summary exists in the Eskimo language; the complete text exists only in French and English.

- The association's brief to the parliamentary committee studying Bill 1, presented on behalf of the Eskimos of Nouveau Quebec, was not even translated into the Eskimo language.

- The telegram sent to Premier Levesque by the Fort Chimo demonstrators was never translated into the Eskimo language.

- The Eskimos of Nouveau Quebec have never had the real objectives of the draft language law explained to them.

You are no doubt aware that the association opposes the language bill. We do not share its opinion, for as a people that is concerned with safeguarding and strengthening its language we identify with the efforts of the Quebecois to safeguard and strengthen their own language.

However, some provisions of Bill 101 threaten to seriously jeopardize the functioning of our own institutions. For example, the exemption of all institutions set up as a result of the James Bay agreement means that two-thirds of Quebec territory—Nouveau Quebec—could become a battleground between anglophones and francophones over the language question. The Inuit, pressured to take sides, would be divided among themselves.

To forestall such a situation, we think the only solution is to provide that the Eskimo language becomes the only language used among us.

We Eskimos have a distinct culture and language and like any other people we are convinced that it falls to us and to us alone to protect our culture. As those most

continued on page 15

Edmonton socialist bid attracts wide attention

By Lynda Little

EDMONTON — "Tapscott lashes out against Big Four" the Edmonton Journal headlined its story on the September 30 election rally of Don Tapscott, socialist candidate for mayor.

"Although Edmonton is referred to as a wealthy boom town, he said, the vast majority of working-class citizens are faced with growing social problems for which his opposition had no solutions," the Journal article reported.

"Not only are they lacking solutions—they are not even addressing the problems," he told



Don Tapscott, Edmonton mayoralty candidate

the enthusiastic audience of 75. Mr. Tapscott, the 30-year-old candidate for the Revolutionary Workers League, lashed out at what he called the Big Four—[mayoralty candidates]

Ivor Dent, Cec Purves, Laurence Decore and Terry Cavanagh—as all 'indistinguishably unanimous in support of big business rule,' the Journal said.

With election day in Edmonton set for October 19, the socialist campaign has already gained publicity. The Journal has covered aspects of the socialist campaign in about a dozen articles. Other media have also given extensive coverage. Nearly all candidates' meetings are reported on radio and television.

Tapscott has had interviews with most radio stations, as well as participating in debates on television stations associated with all three major networks.

A half-hour television interview with Tapscott on a local cable station has been replayed eight times over the course of the campaign. As the only mayoral candidate that speaks French, Tapscott has appeared on French-language television to defend the rights of Franco-Albertains.

The socialist campaign has also availed itself of funds provided by the City of Edmonton for one-minute television and radio advertisements that are being played on all stations.

Tapscott will speak at five high-school meetings and will debate the other candidates at the University of Alberta Students Union Building. He is also speaking at a number of community all-candidate meetings across the city.

At the socialist campaign rally Tapscott noted that he had come under attack indirectly from Brian Tracy, president of

Meridian Marketing and Distributing and director of the Alberta Chamber of Commerce. In a speech to urged his Tracy urged his audience to "get active in community affairs and go on the offensive against the socialist big mouths." Being a businessman, Tracy said, "is the most noble profession imaginable and the very cement of civilization's foundations."

Apparently Tracy was stung by the socialist campaign's criticisms



Don Tapscott/Socialist Voice

Socialists are campaigning in support of Parkland nursing home strikers, seen here on picket line.

of big-business rule. Tapscott told the election rally. But working people are beginning to ask why they should put up with the problems they face today.

"The people like Mr. Tracy, or the Dents, Purveses, Decores, and Cavanaghs who speak for them, no longer have adequate answers or believable promises,"

Tapscott said. "Their profit system can't deliver.

"They can't deliver to the striking Parkwood nursing home workers. They can't deliver to women needing daycare. They can't meet the legitimate expectations of students.

"They can't deliver jobs. They can't deliver decent housing. They can't even deliver clean rivers. And more and more people are realizing they can't deliver the opportunities, the security, the social justice, and the genuine freedom to enable them to find happiness."

Tapscott recalled one television interview in which the moderator said he could sympathize with what the socialist campaign was fighting for, but that it was utopian and unrealistic.

"In fact," Tapscott told the rally, "it is unrealistic to think that Mr. Tracy's profit system can provide what people in Edmonton need. And it is utopian to think that this outmoded, irrational system of exploitation and inequality can or should continue for ever.

"We need a city and a society where production is planned to meet human needs, not run for profits," Tapscott said.

"We think such a society is necessary, possible, and well worth fighting for. If you agree, then we should get together," Tapscott said.

About \$1,400 was collected at the rally to finance the socialist campaign.

Tapscott appeals NDP expulsion

EDMONTON—The Alberta NDP executive has made its move in Edmonton's hotly contested civic elections.

It has expelled Don Tapscott from the provincial NDP—the one mayoralty candidate firmly in support of an NDP city government.

Tapscott has used his campaign to build support for the NDP's entry into civic politics, a proposal not supported by the provincial leadership.

"When the socialist campaign was launched I argued in favor of an NDP municipal slate and stated that if the NDP fielded a mayoralty candidate I would step down," Tapscott declared to an election rally September 30.

"While I have been prominent among advocates of an NDP civic slate, there is wide support for this position in the party.

"My expulsion is a crude maneuver against this wing of the party."

The executive decreed that "all members of the Revolutionary Workers' League or other groups affiliated to the Fourth International are members of another political party and are therefore not eligible for membership [in the Alberta NDP]."

This motion served as pretext for Tapscott's expulsion from the party.

"This expulsion is really aimed against all socialists in the NDP, and against the rights of every member to hold dissident views," Tapscott commented.

"I will appeal this decision to the Provincial Council, and to the membership of the NDP. I am confident that I will be reinstated as a party member."

B.C. Teamsters protest Lawson coup

By Robert Simms

VANCOUVER—On September 16, Jack Vlahovic, secretary-treasurer of 8,700-member Local 213 of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT), was dismissed from office by a trial panel set up by the Teamsters brass. The action has provoked angry protests from hundreds of union members and sparked an international defense campaign inside the union.

About 120 members of Local 213 booked off work September 19 to picket in Vlahovic's defense outside Teamsters headquarters here. For six hours the demonstrators marched outside the office of Senator Edward Lawson, who is a trustee on the executive of Local 213 and was instrumental in Vlahovic's dismissal.

Lawson is the Canadian director of the IBT, and one of its international vice-presidents. He is also the only labor leader appointed to the Canadian Senate.

Nearly 400 Local 213 members gave their overwhelming support to Vlahovic at a September 21 Local meeting. The Local 213 members learned that international president Frank Fitzsim-

mons had upheld Vlahovic's dismissal. They voted almost unanimously to register "non-confidence" in the Lawson faction now controlling the union, and moved to restore Vlahovic to his post.

Both sides have taken their cases to the courts. The Vlahovic forces were granted an inquiry by the B.C. Department of Labor into the conduct of the trial and events leading up to it. Vlahovic is also launching a B.C. Supreme Court action to have the trial ver-



Senator Edward Lawson, Canadian Teamster director.

dict overturned.

Lawson and his allies, on the other hand, are seeking a court injunction to remove Vlahovic from his Teamsters Hall office, which he and his supporters have defiantly continued to occupy.

What lies behind this remarkable rebellion by the Teamsters' ranks against their international leadership, one of the most powerful, entrenched, and feared union fiefdoms on the continent?

The stage for the struggle was set last January when Vlahovic defeated the Lawson-supported incumbent for the secretary-treasurer's post. Vlahovic participated in a reform slate that won two other posts from the Teamsters' establishment on the seven-member executive. It was the first time since 1946 that anyone had challenged the establishment slate.

Vlahovic had won a reputation as a fighter on behalf of members' grievances against the bosses. His basic aim was to improve the union's service to the members.

"Many elected [union] officials and representatives lose sight of the fact that the only

reason they are there is because of the rank-and-file members. They shouldn't bloody well forget that," Vlahovic said in a September 28 interview in the Vancouver Province.

The Lawson-led majority on Local 213's executive reacted to Vlahovic's victory with an eight-month campaign of harassment that culminated in a series of trumped-up charges bringing Vlahovic before the union panel. He was accused of issuing a press release detrimental to the Teamsters' reputation (in fact, a statement critical of Senator Lawson), and "unauthorized" use of union funds to establish a much-needed union office at Fort St. John in the B.C. interior.

The anger of the Teamsters' ranks at Vlahovic's treatment was fuelled when the details of the trial became known. According to an affidavit submitted to the Supreme Court by Vlahovic, he was denied the right to a lawyer, to introduce relevant evidence, and to call certain witnesses.

Several members of the trial board owe their Teamsters jobs to Lawson's appointments; Lawson himself acted as trial prosecutor. Vlahovic described it

as a "kangaroo court."

Vlahovic was fined nearly \$11,000, fired from his post, and barred for life from holding union office.

Vlahovic attended the Cleveland convention of the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) September 24-25. The TDU is a grouping of Teamsters fighting the international leadership and the brass's record of corruption, sweetheart contracts with the bosses, and denial of members' democratic rights.

According to the September 26 Province, the 250 delegates voted unanimously to support Vlahovic. The TDU launched a petition campaign inside the international union to demand his immediate reinstatement and the dropping of all charges.

A rank-and-file movement is forming in Local 213 to carry on the defense of Vlahovic. A strong defense campaign is needed in Teamsters' locals everywhere. Other sections of the labor movement should also support the campaign. Bringing the weight of the union membership to bear will be decisive in defending the democratic rights of Jack Vlahovic and Local 213.



Antinuclear struggles mushroom

Europe's powerful antinuclear movement continues to grow in strength as mobilizations spread throughout the entire continent.

About 15,000 demonstrators braved driving rain September 12 to protest construction of a nuclear power plant in Barseback, Sweden. Protests were spurred on by Swedish Premier Thorbjorn Falldin's betrayal of election promises. Falldin approved the Barseback plant shortly after using the antinuclear issue to eke out an election victory over the Social Democrats.

The Barseback demonstration was joined by Danish protestors, who object to the Swedish government's failure to consult before going ahead with the plant, located only 19 kilometers from Copenhagen.

Only two weeks later, some 30,000 persons marched in an international demonstration against West Germany's first nuclear breeder reactor at Kalkar. The march took place despite harassment from a 10,000-strong German police contingent, which stopped and searched hundreds of arriving demonstrators.

U.S. State Dep't OKs Blanco visa

The U.S. State Department recommended September 23 that exiled Peruvian Trotskyist Hugo Blanco be allowed to enter the country. The case is now before the Justice Department's Immigration and Naturalization Service for a final decision.

Blanco had been scheduled to enter the U.S. on September 9 to begin a speaking tour of 30 cities on the topic: "Human Rights in Latin America: Myth and Reality."

After the State Department's initial refusal to grant Blanco a visa, the tour's sponsors—Pathfinder Press and the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners—launched a campaign of protest messages and telegrams demanding that Americans be allowed to hear Blanco.

Brazilian student struggles continue

The student upsurge launched last spring in Brazil is picking up steam. On May 31, 5,000 students at the University of Brasilia went on strike against repression. The government responded by sending 2,000 troops onto the campus and using arrests, expulsions, and suspensions in an attempt to intimidate the students.

As the strike continued, solidarity spread. Demonstrations and meetings in Sao Paulo, Salvador, Recife and other cities marked a National Day of Struggle August 23. In Sao Paulo, 15,000 troops were mobilized to disperse the demonstrations.

Student slogans against the repression, for democratic rights, and in support of imprisoned students seem to have won a sympathetic response from an increasingly discontented population.

In late September, despite further police repression, student leaders met to reconstitute the Brazilian Union of Students, banned in 1964.

Protests called to overturn 'Bakke'

U.S. affirmative action programs face a crucial legal challenge October 12. On that day, the Supreme Court is scheduled to rule on the suit of Allan Bakke, a white male student whose charge of "reverse discrimination" against the University of California was upheld by the California Supreme Court.

Bakke claims "reverse discrimination" because the university's Davis Medical School reserved a meager 16 places out of 100 for disadvantaged students. If the claim, supported by a broad spectrum of conservative and racist forces, is upheld, the rights of Blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and women to seek equality in hiring and education will be severely undermined.

Emergency protests on campuses and in cities across the country have been called for October 3 and October 8 by the National Committee to Overturn the Bakke Decision.

East German oppositionist imprisoned

Rudolf Bahro, a 41-year-old engineer and a member of the German Democratic Republic's ruling Socialist Unity Party (SED), has been imprisoned for espionage.

Bahro's crime was to publish his book *The Alternative*, a major attempt to outline, on the political, social and economic levels, a Marxist and revolutionary alternative to the ruling bureaucracies of Eastern Europe.

In an interview granted to West German television August 23 Bahro emphasized the need for the revival of a communist party. To achieve this, he called for legalization of a communist opposition, citing the rigid structures of the SED and the need to break the dominance of the apparatus over political life.



More than a million people surged through Barcelona streets September 11 to celebrate Catalonia's national day.

Catalan people demand control of their homeland

By Joanna Rossi

September 11, the "diada," is the National Day of Catalonia. This year more than a million and a half people surged through the streets of downtown Barcelona in what has been described as one of the most massive demonstrations in history.

Chanting, singing, waving aloft the flaming red and yellow Catalan flag, the demonstrators shouted themselves hoarse, calling for self-determination of their homeland.

They were joined, reported James Markham in the September 12 *New York Times*, by "the colors of other Spanish regions that are striving to assert their personalities in the post-Franco era: the Basque provinces, Galicia, Andalusia, the Canary Islands, Extremadura and others."

Euzkadi, the Basque country, is another central area where the national question has emerged with extreme force. On September 2 in Bilbao, a city of less than half a million people, more than a quarter of a million took to the streets. On just two days in three Basque cities, one fifth of the entire Basque population came out in militant protests. The call for independence raised by some revolutionary nationalist and socialist groups was widely taken up.

A Catalan journalist, described as "a bit giddy from the freewheeling display" in Barcelona September 11, was quoted by Markham as saying, "I can remember when people were sent to jail for speaking Catalan. And now this!"

This is a profound manifestation of the depth of the national feeling in both Catalonia and Euzkadi. A warning to the "centralizers" in Madrid, who, along with their predecessors, have striven for centuries to "assimilate," more precisely to annihilate the very identities of the oppressed peoples who are locked into the Spanish prison house of nations.

The attempt at annihilation was especially brutal under Franco. In 1938 a law was passed prohibiting the use of any language other than Castilian Spanish. But the repression did not stop at that.

In Euzkadi tombstones inscribed in the Basque language

were scraped clean, storefront signs were "Castilianized," and traditional Basque names were no longer accepted in the civil registry. Official violence, including torture, was employed against the Basque population time and again.

In Catalonia the native language disappeared from schools and publications. Books in Catalan vanished overnight. Village and street names were Castilianized. A slogan scrawled on a Barcelona wall caught the official sentiment: "Dogs, speak Christian!"

Today, while the worst measures have been swept away by the upsurge, the central political question remains—how can the oppressed nationalities in the Spanish state take control of their destinies?

Given the explosiveness of the question, the government and politicians of both bourgeois and reformist parties are jockeying to work out a formula to defuse the situation.

All agree in opposing genuine self-determination. Some sort of "special status"—within the context of "national unity," of course—is what they look to.

In Catalonia the discussion has centered on a "Generalitat," the name of the semi-autonomous government Catalonia had under the Republic in the 1930s. In fact, this was a severely truncated form of self-rule that left decisive powers with the central, oppressive Madrid government.

Recently the Adolfo Suarez government has been negotiating with Josep Tarradellas, an aged

right-winger who claims to represent the former Generalitat, with a view to fabricating a similar "solution" to their problem. They have in mind a new Generalitat that would have even fewer powers than the 1930s model.

It will not be easy to sell this to the Catalan masses; already the deal has been popularly branded "a decaffeinated Generalitat."

The two main reformist parties, the Communists and Socialists, who received a majority in the June elections in Catalonia, have initially opposed the new Generalitat.

They do not dispute the substance of the deal—to defuse the explosiveness of the national question—but they want it to be more "democratic" in the sense of reflecting their vote, and with their more active participation. As presently conceived, the Generalitat would simply be a tool of Madrid.

The reformists do have a bargaining point. They may even be forced to more public measures, like demonstrations, to drive it home. They hope to use their influence with the masses to maneuver some concessions from Suarez.

Jose Maria Riginer, a Catalan SP leader, was quoted on this point in the September 12 *Le Monde*: "Mr. Suarez has to come to an agreement with us so he can go on, with a better chance of success, to tackle the Basque problem which is more difficult to resolve, especially given the influence of the non-parliamentary left."

A cogent point, for it is precisely a part of the "non-parliamentary left" that is pointing the way forward for the oppressed peoples—unequivocal support to real self-determination. In the September 11 demonstration the members of the two Spanish Trotskyist organizations (the Communist League and the Revolutionary Communist League) raised the call: "Elections for a Catalan parliament, the people must make the decisions."

What form of self-determination they opt for, how they work it out—these are decisions for the oppressed peoples themselves. And until they have this right, Franco's heirs have a time-bomb on their hands.

Accord establishes Generalitat

On September 28 (after this article was written) an agreement was reached on the establishment of a provisional Catalan Generalitat. Participating in the accord with the Spanish government were Tarradellas—expected to be named president of the new body—and representatives of the Communist and Socialist parties, the Center Union, and the Democratic Left of Catalonia.

Under the accord, the central government in Madrid will retain authority over key jurisdictions. The Spanish Cortes (parliament) will define the status of the Generalitat.

Unions in Colombia stage 24-hour strike

By Beverly Bernardo

Armored units of the army and police clashed violently with workers and students in Bogota and other Colombian cities September 14, in an attempt to crush a 24-hour general strike called by the country's four trade-union federations and the largest independent unions.

The progovernment Bogota newspapers *El Tiempo* and *El Espectador* reported on September 15 that 10 deaths, an "indeterminate" number of civilian injuries and an "incalculable amount of damage to automobiles, buildings, and commercial establishments" in Bogota had occurred.

Background of the general strike

"The present upsurge is the most important event in the last thirty years of Colombian history," wrote Eduardo Medrano in the September 26 issue of the newsweekly *Intercontinental Press*.

Medrano reported that the major factor fueling the uprising was a rapid decline in real wages resulting from an inflation rate of 41 percent over the past year. Strike organizers raised other issues—the government's indifference to poverty, hoarding, and uncontrolled speculation in basic necessities; and its failure to correct the disorganization of the health care system, public services, and education.

At a large meeting held August 20 in Bogota by the planning committee for a citizens' national strike—which included delegates from the General Trade Union Federation of Colombia (CSTC), the General Confederation of Labor (CGT), independent unions, and political groups on the left—representatives of the Union of Colombian Workers (UTC) and the Confederation of Colombian Workers (CTC) declared their support to the 24-hour general strike that the CSTC and CGT had been planning since late May.

The bureaucratic leaderships of the union federations had hoped to use the threat of a strike to improve their bargaining position

with President Alfonso Lopez Michelsen and his government. But faced with the demand by the UTC and CTC that the government implement a 1959 law that establishes a sliding scale of wages, the government dug in its heels.

Under pressure from the ranks, the bureaucrats were forced to break off negotiations and launch a general strike. On September 1 a national steering committee was set up to begin planning for the general strike.

In response, the government issued a new decree September 2 prohibiting radio and television transmissions of any "news, statements, communiques, or commentaries pertaining to work stoppages or illegal or general strikes." But the momentum for the strike was too great to stop.

The uprising of September 14-15

In the early hours of September 14, barricades were set up in working-class neighborhoods in Bogota. Dispatches from the capital reported sustained rock-throwing, and looting of stores and factories. The newspapers described these incidents as "acts of vandalism by adolescents," but the scope of the repression unleashed showed that what was involved was a genuine mass uprising.

In one district, *El Tiempo* reported, skirmishes were so intense that "the disturbances continued for more than three hours. Neither the police nor the army dared enter the main street. Toward noon, a police action succeeded in reestablishing relative calm."

In the south of Bogota, in order to retake only one of the access routes to the center, "various army trucks and armored police units" sent out "lightning squads," *el Tiempo* reported. In many cases, the troops vented their rage on unarmed students.

There were other indicators of the breadth of the upsurge in Bogota public and private transportation ground to a halt in the first few hours. The largest skirmishes occurred in the working-class districts where the major

factories are located.

President Lopez went on television lamenting that "no fewer than eight commercial establishments have been looted; there have been some deaths, attempted arson, train derailments . . . all of which proves unequivocally that we have gone beyond the stage of a labor issue, and that what is involved is a matter of public order."

Disturbances continued on September 15. A UPI dispatch published in the September 16 *New York Times* reported clashes in which six more people were killed. Troops in battle gear continued to patrol the city in jeeps and armored cars.

Aftermath of the strike

Repercussions from the strike are still being felt throughout Colombia. On September 19 the leaders of the four trade-union federations declared a "general state of alert" in solidarity with workers' struggles occurring in the aftermath of September 14-15.

South Africa

Biko's death not in vain

By Alan Russett

Thousands of chanting Blacks rallied in King William's Town, South Africa on September 25 to protest the police murder of Black Consciousness movement leader Steven Biko and raise the cry for Azania (South Africa), their country. The action was one in a storm of protests that have swept South Africa since Biko's death September 12 while in police detention.

With Biko's death, the official toll of "suicides" among Black prisoners in the last 18 months rose to at least 20. But few persons accept official explanations. And neither the "suicides" nor mass arrests of the last year can quell the angry unrest of South Africa's Blacks.

Steven Biko is not just another nameless victim of apartheid. He was one of the most recognized and powerful leaders of the Black resistance to bondage.

The Black Consciousness movement spurred a new generation of Blacks to militancy. For Biko, as he explained to an interviewer last July, Black consciousness was the cultural and political revival of an oppressed people.

It must, he said "be related to the emancipation of the entire continent of Africa since the Second World War. Africa has experienced the death of white invincibility."

Black liberation is something to be forged by Blacks themselves. As Biko put it, "As long as white liberals are our spokesmen, there will be no black spokesmen."

Biko sought to organize in accordance with his convictions. He was a founder of the South African Students Organization (SASO) in 1969 and the Black People's Convention in 1972. It was out of these organizations that a new Black leadership was born and proven in struggle in



Striker attacked as police attempt to crush 24-hour general strike.

The mass media immediately spread the rumor that another general strike was being organized. In reply to this charge, Tulio Cuevas, the central leader of the UTC, said:

"It is the government ministers who are fomenting another general strike. It is the government, in its arrogance and eagerness to conceal the real truth about September 14, that is brandishing its club against the leaders of the trade-union federations and those political forces that are courageously daring to draw the attention of

the government, to get it to seek solutions to the grave social problems and not utilize repressive decrees like 2004, which provides for detention of trade-union leaders for up to 180 days."

The fact that the leaders of the strike are not jailed for such statements shows that the government knows it must tread cautiously. It knows that the citizens' general strike marked a new stage in the struggles of the oppressed masses, and that it is not going to be easy to break this momentum.



Biko: 'Whites will not be conquerors forever.'

the streets and schools of Soweto.

Biko paid a price for his activity. He was expelled from medical school, banned (a form of house arrest) in 1973, and arrested several times without trial. On August 18 he was arrested for the last time under the infamous Terrorism Act, accused of responsibility for anti-apartheid protests in South African cities.

His death was contemptuously dismissed by South Africa's Justice Minister James T. Kruger, who told a snickering white audience, "If a man goes on a hunger strike . . . that is his democratic right. . . . Biko's death leaves me cold."

But the big lie could not be maintained in the face of Black protests, international criticism, and even domestic reports that Biko had been beaten to death. On September 18 Kruger was forced to say that heads may roll in the police department. That may not be enough to silence the critics.

The general secretary of the World Council of Churches, Philip Potter, said Biko was unofficially "put to death." U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance allowed he was "shocked and saddened" and said a full investigation into circumstances surrounding the death was necessary. The U.S. ambassador attended the funeral and there was a wreath from Andrew Young, Carter's UN ambassador.

Washington's tears are false. U.S. imperialism would be quite happy to bury the real memory of Biko—a symbol of a movement that rejects foreign investment in Africa, and that condemned Kissinger's meetings with Prime Minister Vorster. Biko himself, in a July interview, called for "a socialist solution that is an authentic expression of black communalism."

U.S. concerns over the damage to Carter's public relations blitz for gradual and liberal change in South Africa are real. The apartheid regime has once more been exposed as resting on terror, mass arrests, and murder.

There is little sign of change from the South African government. In the middle of the furor, Vorster called a snap election, hoping to mobilize the country's white electorate to resist international pressure for change.

Vorster and his band of conquerors and exploiters are trying to resist history. But they will not succeed. For in Biko's words, "the blacks in Africa now know that the whites will not be conquerors forever."

Edmonton meeting marks Chile coup anniversary



More than 100 people, over half of them Chilean, gathered at an Edmonton meeting September 11 sponsored by the Revolutionary Workers League and supporters of the Liga Comunista, sympathizing organization of the Fourth International in Chile.

How to win jobs for all

continued from page 1

tained in the March 31 federal budget.

But at best, NDP leader Ed Broadbent admits, such programs would have only a "marginal effect" on unemployment this winter. It's clear that more far-reaching measures must be taken if unemployment is to be beaten.

In the "medium term," the CLC says, the government should formulate a "national industrial strategy" through the immediate structuring of a tripartite Council for Social and Economic Planning. In collaboration with big business and Trudeau, CLC leaders hope to take a hand in making corporate and government investment decisions.

In fact, this tripartism scheme is a deadend for working people; it's a recipe for defeat of labor's campaign for jobs. Under capitalism, investment decisions are made in accordance with profit criteria, not on the basis of social considerations—like the need for jobs at decent pay. That's why the fight for full employment can be won only in struggle against the corporations and governments beholden to big business—not in tripartite co-operation with them.

OFL plans conferences

As part of the CLC's campaign

for jobs, the Ontario Federation of Labor has scheduled a series of conferences across the province this month to discuss labor's response to the jobs crisis. The conferences should provide trade unionists with a chance to formulate a program that could win jobs for all. Here are some proposals they might consider:

- **Full compensation for unemployment's victims.** Workers by the thousands have been purged from the unemployment insurance rolls. In response, labor should demand that the jobless be compensated at union wage rates for the full duration of their unemployment. Just as workers should fight for cost-of-living protection in every union contract, unemployment insurance benefits should be increased in pace with inflation.

- **Stop the cutbacks. Launch a massive program of public works.** Social-service cutbacks cause unemployment and victimize the jobless. Rather than slashing social services, governments should be forced to undertake a massive expansion of public services, such as educational and childcare programs, job retraining programs, and health services—building the required facilities and taking on the

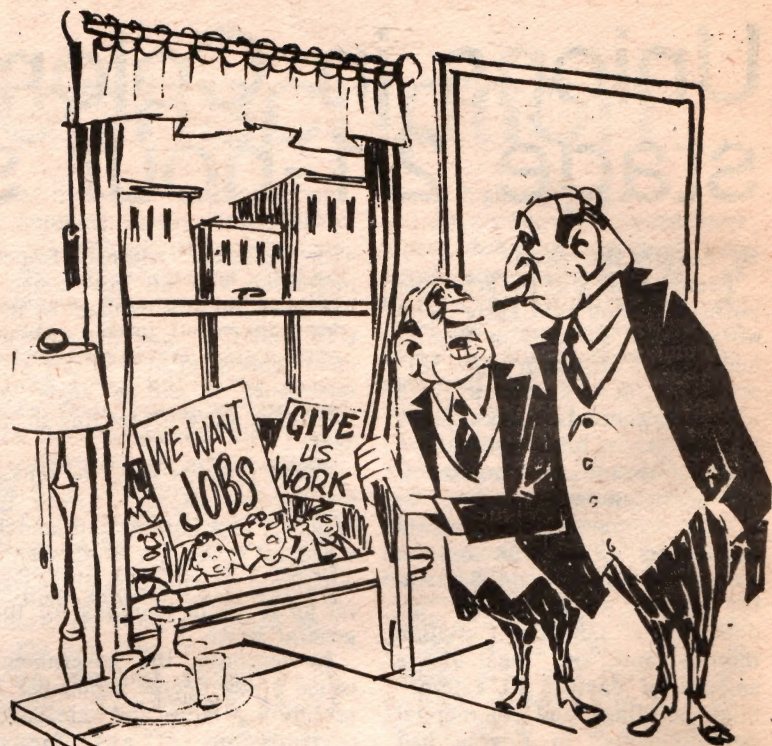
necessary staff.

According to census figures, 300,000 Canadian families lack toilet facilities or share bathrooms with other families. Another 300,000 families spend more than a third of their incomes on rents or mortgage payments. A massive program of low-rent public housing construction is needed to provide jobs and alleviate the housing crisis.

How could such programs be paid for? Why not put a stop to Ottawa's current war-spending drive? That, in itself, would provide billions of dollars for socially useful, job-creating projects.

- **For a shorter workweek without reduction in pay.** In its current contract negotiations the Canadian Union of Postal Workers has demanded a 30-hour workweek at 40 hours' pay to combat the layoffs resulting from the Post Office's automation program.

Workers should demand that they, not the bosses, benefit from labor-saving technology through shorter working hours. The legislation of a shorter workweek without reduction in pay would spread available work around and substantially reduce unemployment.



Fred Wright, Union Cartoon Service

'What are they complaining about? ... We haven't worked a day in our lives!'

- **Stop layoffs and plant closures.** When the corporations refuse to operate, when they threaten to shut down their plants, then their holdings should be nationalized and operated under workers control.

The workers in each plant and industry should be able to elect committees to oversee production and make the decisions about work speed, automation, hiring and firing, promotions, and health and safety standards.

If the industries and banks of Canada were nationalized and operated according to a democratically decided national plan, then the full capacity of the country's resources, industry, and labor could be turned to meeting human needs. Only through the nationalization of the banks and industry can the "full employment planning" the CLC talks about be achieved.

Nova Scotia example

The Canadian Labor Congress has promised a campaign for full employment. But CLC leaders have still not taken the initiative in bringing the full weight of the unions to bear in cross-country action for jobs.

The shape such a campaign could take has been shown by the Nova Scotia Federation of Labor. Its example should be repeated across Canada.

In collaboration with the Quebec trade-union movement, the CLC should initiate full-employment committees in every city. Unions outside the Congress, NDP constituency associations, student organizations, women's and native groups should be invited to participate. Special efforts should be made to involve the unemployed.

Such committees could organize conferences to discuss a full-employment program. Manpower and unemployment offices could be picketed. Support could be built for workers striking in defense of job security. Rallies and demonstrations could be organized to fully involve the unemployed together with trade unionists and labor's allies in the campaign.

The CLC should now be preparing for a cross-country day of protest to demand full employment without wage controls. Only the mobilization of labor's power in direct action can begin to win jobs for all.



Teachers' contract a step backwards

By Marguerite Gordon

TORONTO—Metro Toronto secondary school teachers have just ratified a new contract—one that represents a step backwards for teachers and the labor movement as a whole. The attempt of governments at all levels to increase managerial control of the workplace and to intimidate the union movement is reflected in this latest contract ratification.

The teachers' contract came out of a prolonged, bitter strike in 1975-76 in which Metro Toronto high school teachers were for the first time subjected to intensive media attacks, government callousness, and back-to-work legislation.

Since then, teachers have continued to suffer from these attacks. They are held to be responsible not only for the loss of standards in schools, but also for perpetuating mediocrity and even illiteracy. As if this were not enough, teachers have also been accused of being responsible for large increases in property taxes; the continued presence of the Anti-Inflation Board; and even the economic crisis.

In the opening round of their contract negotiations, teachers were offered a package that included a salary increase of 1.5 percent over two years, a cut of 642 teaching positions, and a huge erosion of their hard-won working conditions.

This demoralizing offer was the last complete picture teachers had of the negotiating process. Rather than relying on a well-informed, actively involved membership, teacher leaders used secrecy and lawyers to combat the Metro school boards' tactics, culminating in a news blackout.

As a result, ratification by the teachers of the contract, which was suddenly sprung on them through the media and overwhelmingly recommended by all but a few of the leadership, came as no surprise.

Elected teacher leaders Lynn Frankel and David Crisp of North York told teachers of the dangers of accepting the contract. And 37 teacher activists from across Metro prepared a leaflet explaining why they were "Voting No." The leaflet was distributed to most of Metro's

9,000 teachers.

The leaflet described the setback in working conditions, new managerial rights provisions, a deteriorating staff situation, and teachers' financial losses (the loss of a cost-of-living [COLA] clause and only a 5.83 percent salary increase).



Toronto teachers' contract undermines working conditions and wages. Above, scene in 1975 strike.

"The elimination of a COLA clause not only means we cannot keep up with the rate of inflation but also allows the Boards to begin negotiating from a lower base next year, thus causing further erosions of income while inflation persists at unreasonably high levels."

The leaflet was well received, and had a sobering effect on many teachers—inadequately informed because of the leadership's strategy.

In North York, the only one of Metro's six boroughs to actually allow the vote to be revealed, more than 500 teachers voted against the contract—an impressive number considering the circumstances.

Acceptance of this weak contract guarantees future problems. Combine this with coming attacks on the teachers' pension funds and the problem of declining enrollments and it is clear that teachers will have to change their strategy, seeking allies and support from the labor movement and the community in order to break out of their isolation and defend themselves.

Also needed is independent political action in conjunction with other forces in the labor movement to take on Ontario's Conservative government.

If these steps are not taken, the future for teachers and the educational system in Metro will be bleak indeed.

Hamilton meeting debates Canadian unity

By Sue Genge

HAMILTON—Campaigning in the spirit of "national unity," the CBC has launched a series of radio programs under the not-so-subtle title *Referendum Canada*. Under a pretext of reasonable and objective discussion, it has invited partisans of different views to participate in the "great debate."

So it was that about 80 people came to Hamilton City Hall September 21 to hear and discuss with Pierre Bourgault, a prominent member of the Parti Quebecois and long-time advocate of Quebec independence.

Bourgault, aware of the program's purpose, firmly refused to accept the terms of the debate.

"I am not here to try to convince you that Quebec should separate or to blackmail you... as some of my federalist friends would do." His message was clear: It's not your job to decide the future of Quebec, we'll do that. It's your job to decide the future of English Canada.

Bourgault's challengers, not surprisingly, all argued for the unity of Canada. In this vein, we were presented with such panelists as Jack MacDonald, mayor of Hamilton, and Bill Scanlon, a United Steelworkers bureaucrat.

With varying degrees of sentimental hogwash, all panelists put forward the same uninspiring "unity in diversity" argument.

The mayor was particularly pathetic. He charged that Quebec would be breaking the law by separating, but he was unable to explain which law, since none exists—as Bourgault quickly pointed out.

When the mayor attempted to assure Bourgault that bilingualism really works, and that children in Hamilton have the choice of French language education, he was boldly contradicted by a francophone teacher. She slammed the government for its lack of commitment and funding for French language education in Ontario.

Scanlon, posing as a person with much knowledge of Quebec, argued that Quebecois workers

do not want to separate. He failed to mention that the recent policy conference of his union endorsed a position in support of Quebec's right to self-determination.

It was left to a member of the audience, Jim Bell, a member of the Revolutionary Workers League, to draw attention to the official Steelworkers' position. Bell noted the importance of publicizing and supporting the USW resolution, because it does not fall into the trap of supporting the oppression of our Quebecois sisters and brothers.

Consistent support for Quebec's right to separate was expressed by a small group of

Franco-Ontariens. Aside from receiving Bourgault's solidarity, they found some support in the audience.

Another speaker received quite a positive response when he argued that the hysteria being whipped up by the "national unity" campaign is designed to undercut the fight against wage controls, cutbacks, and unemployment.

The majority of participants supported the Canadian unity appeals of most speakers. But partisans of Quebec's right to decide its own future must take every opportunity to counter the well-orchestrated reactionary campaign against Quebec.

... Inuit in Quebec defend their language rights

continued from page 10

directly concerned, we want to have the same possibilities as the Quebecois to take the necessary measures to protect our language. And like the Quebecois, we don't want others to have the responsibility and the task of legislating on our language and culture.

Consequently, we consider that all those provisions affecting the Eskimos... have no place in a bill that seeks to be the Charter of the French Language in Quebec.

What we would like instead is the creation by the Eskimos of Nouveau Quebec of a genuine regional government with full power to assure the development of our society, our culture, and our language.

"The National Assembly recognizes that the Indians and Inuit of Quebec, descendants of the first inhabitants of this country, have the right to maintain and develop their language and culture of origin."

We agree with this paragraph [from the preamble to Law 101—S.V.] because it is the first time that a law has expressed such recognition of the Indians and Eskimos. But mind what is meant by "culture of origin." All too often whites consider us, even today, as being nothing but a hunting people with the strange custom of eating raw meat. But our culture cannot be reduced to these traditional elements alone. Our culture affords us a basis and a cohesion for our daily activities: yesterday we hunted by dog team; today we are building our cooperatives; and tomorrow we shall control our government and our other institutions. To ensure the genuine development of our language and culture, they must be situated in the social and economic context we live in, taking account of the direction we want to give to our development and the methods by which we want to secure that development.

The James Bay agreement completely violates these concepts. It emphasizes

traditional activities but pays little attention to economic development, denying us any possibility of distinct and original development. The only real power it gives us is to determine the content of educational courses on traditional culture. As for the monetary compensation, we don't think our genuine development lies in the establishment of a northern airline or a string of Holiday Inns across the North.

The first effect of the agreement will be to accelerate social disintegration and endanger and even destroy most of the efforts at socio-economic development that have been undertaken so far.

The institutions to be set up under the agreement—regional government, local governments, a development corporation, etc.—are exact copies of the bureaucratic structures that exist in the South, and they will be dependent largely on white personnel for their operation.

The conception behind these structures destroys any hope that our language might some day serve as a vehicle of our

development, and in this sense the NQIA is right when it cites the need for a foreign language.

The history of the Indians of Canada should serve as a lesson for us.

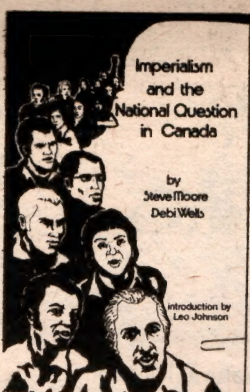
For more than a century the Indians simply chased after norms and requirements set by benevolent bureaucrats with their own development projects, comfortably seated in their head office in Ottawa. In recent years these same Indians have been told they will now be able to gradually take control of the structures of the Indian Affairs department.

But we don't want to take control of Indian Affairs, or of the Direction Generale du Nouveau-Quebec [the Quebec government's agency], or of any other structure created by others than ourselves. We refuse to be forced to live politically and economically in a language that is not our own. What we want are structures that we can operate ourselves, using our own language.



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Rejects motion to break link

Manitoba labor debates NDP ties

By Barry Weisleder
and Kerry Knudson

WINNIPEG—Relations between the labor movement and the New Democratic Party dominated debates at the annual convention of the Manitoba Federation of Labor (MFL), held here September 22-25. The convention met just as the October 11 election campaign was getting under way.

Delegates greeted NDP Premier Ed Schreyer with a standing ovation when he addressed the convention.

But hard on the heels of Schreyer's appeal for labor support, debate broke out over the NDP government's record.

A pro-NDP motion submitted by locals of the Steelworkers, the Canadian Union of Public Employees, and the Retail Store Employees Union was attacked by Newspaper Guild delegate Eric Mills, who said the party "does not merit labor's wholehearted and uncritical support."

Mills cited the Schreyer government's support of wage controls, its "failure" to assist striking workers at Griffin Steel Foundries, and its failure to give provincial employees bargaining rights and protections equal to those enjoyed by private-sector workers.

The motion of support was approved by the convention, with a handful of delegates voting against. But among those abstaining was the entire delegation of the 16,000-member Manitoba Government Employees Association (MGEA), the largest affiliated union in the 85,000-member MFL.

The MGEA had submitted a motion that the federation "remove itself completely from political affiliation" to the NDP. This provoked a stormy debate, with one delegate after another rising to defend the NDP and the Schreyer government.

The MGEA motion reflected in part the legitimate frustration of provincial employees with the government's consistent flouting of their demands and rights. But the union's anti-NDP campaign—a similar motion was presented to the previous MFL convention—holds out no alternative strategy. Far from expressing a fighting strategy of anticapitalist struggle independent of the government and the private-sector bosses, the union's stance has an extremely conservative thrust, as demonstrated by its refusal to participate in and build last year's October 14 protest against wage controls.

In these conditions, the MGEA proposal to withdraw political support from the NDP is a diversion from the strategy that is needed: which must include a political struggle within the NDP to reverse the party leadership's



Chris Brown/The Uniter

NDP government's antilabor record has alienated many workers. Above, police manhandle pickets in Griffin strike.

support for controls and cutbacks.

The MGEA motion was defeated. A second resolution from the union, calling on the MFL to withdraw support from the government if provincial employees are not given the right to strike, was set aside. The convention adopted a substitute resolution, promising an MFL campaign to win full rights for government workers—but many

MGEA delegates sat on their hands during this vote.

Delegates reaffirmed their opposition to controls. But they failed to adopt a plan of mass actions to defeat the Anti-Inflation Board, urging affiliates simply to refrain from signing contracts after the end of this year, so as to establish a common legal strike situation.

A motion rejecting the Canadian Labor Congress's

"tripartite" labor-government-big business collaboration was carried unanimously, with no debate.

Debate on a motion to extend "full solidarity to Quebecois workers' struggles and support for the right of Quebec to self-determination" was confused when the brass-controlled resolutions committee tacked on the rider, "hopefully within the concept of a united Canada."

Several delegates protested that the amendment contradicted the intent of the original motion by placing a condition on Quebec's right of self-determination. The motion was adopted, however, by a huge majority.

The convention called for more government action to improve and increase childcare facilities across the province. A motion calling for free 24-hour childcare was defeated.

Delegates voted unanimously to condemn the repressive federal immigration law C-24. An emergency resolution calling on the Manitoba government to drop all charges against the picketers arrested at Griffin Steel failed to reach the floor.

RWL sparks election debate

By Greg McMaster

WINNIPEG—Neither the New Democratic government nor its Conservative and Liberal rivals has been able to generate much excitement in the campaign for the October 11 provincial election.

Conservative leader Sterling Lyon attacks Premier Ed Schreyer for Social-Democratic inefficiency in Northern development projects ("Governments can't run businesses").

Leaders of the native people, whose lands were flooded by these projects, attack Schreyer but, unfortunately, lend support to the barely-visible Liberals.

The labor movement, angry at Schreyer's wage controls, is maintaining its alliance with the NDP. And Schreyer is cleverly playing on widespread fear of the Conservatives' austerity plans.

Business circles, having tolerated the NDP government during its eight years in office, are as usual backing the Progressive Conservatives. But NDP candidates appear to be holding their ground. Winnipeg Mayor Steven Juba, who has long cultivated an "independent" image, has noisily thrown his support to Schreyer. A municipal election is to be held this month.

Sterling Lyon rode to the Tory leadership on an anti-Semitic campaign against former PC leader Sidney Spivak, and his campaign continues in this reactionary spirit. At a convention of the Manitoba Association of Student Councils, PC supporters distributed a racist button portraying Rene Levesque as a frog. Tory candidate Warren Steen has come out as "a fan of Anita Bryant."

The only candidate who is speaking unequivocally in sup-

**STOP THE
FLOODING
NATIVE CONTROL
OF NATIVE
LAND !**

port of Quebec's national rights and in defense of gay men and lesbians is Larry Johnston.

Johnston, candidate of the Revolutionary Workers League in Osborne constituency, is firmly aligned with those who support an NDP victory on October 11.

The RWL explains that a vote for the NDP, as a party based on the unions, draws the class line in the electoral arena. But at the same time, the socialists point to the need to reject the pro-capitalist program of the NDP government, and call for a new course—a program that identifies with the struggles and needs of working people.

Larry Johnston's campaign has been identified in the media primarily with the defense of the Griffin strike and the resistance to daycare cutbacks.

At an all-candidates meeting attended by 200 students at Churchill High School, which was broadcast later on radio, students questioned candidates about points in Johnston's program calling for gay liberation and custody rights for lesbian mothers.

Conservative candidate Mercier said "As a parent, I'd be worried if such people were teaching my children."

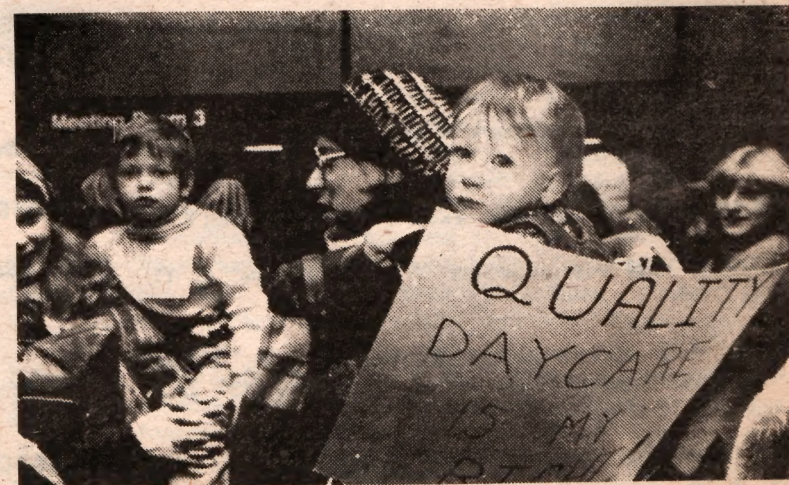
Only Johnston condemned "a

society where people are discriminated against because of who they love."

Education Minister Ian Turnbull, expected to retain the Osborne seat for the NDP, attacked the Griffin strikers arrested for mass picketing to stop scabs. "Those who break the law must pay the consequences," he said.

And all candidates but Johnston came out as fervent federalists when asked about the campaign by Trudeau and Canadian business leaders against the national movement in Quebec.

Daycare activist Brenda Pringle made the news early in the campaign when she gave "critical support" to the NDP government's daycare program. Saying that "defeat of the NDP would be a pretty sad story for daycare," she also slammed the government for freezing spending



Daycare activists demonstrated at Manitoba NDP convention last winter, protesting Schreyer government's freeze on childcare spending.

Griffin defense issues appeal

WINNIPEG—A Griffin Defense Committee has been formed to defend union activists and others who were victimized during the long strike at Griffin Steel Foundries here last spring.

The widely publicized strike was fought in opposition to compulsory overtime. Twenty-eight persons have been charged with "obstruction" and other criminal offenses arising from incidents on the picket line.

The Griffin Defense Committee demands that the Manitoba NDP government drop all charges. It is raising money to offset the estimated \$30,000 in legal expenses.

Contributions to the defense should be made payable to: Griffin Defense Fund, Box 237, Postal Station K, Winnipeg, Man. R3J 3R4

GRIFFIN
END
STRIKEBREAKING
**DROP THE
CHARGES**

STOP
• Rape
• Job
• Discrimination
• Attacks on
Lesbians &
Gays

levels last winter. (Schreyer promises to return spending to previous levels, but no higher.)

Pringle will be speaking at an election rally for Larry Johnston on October 5.

Also speaking at the rally will be Alison Nutt, a member of the Griffin Defense Committee; Walter Davis, a CUPE activist and member of *After Stonewall*, a gay liberation journal; and a speaker from the Chile Information Center.